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ABSTRACT

This annual publication presents six articles on historical aspects of higher education. The first article is "The Urban Catholic University in the Early Twentieth Century: A Social Profile of DePaul, 1898-1940" by John L. Rury. It traces student characteristics during this period from primarily the sons (and later daughters) of European immigrants to increasing diversity and emphasis on training professionals. The second article, "In the President's Opinion: Robert Maynard Hutchins and the University of Chicago Department of History," by Philo A. Hutcheson, focuses on conflicts between the curricular goals of Hutchins and those of the faculty, particularly the history department faculty. The consequences of Hutchins' attempt to use his knowledge illustrates the nature of presidential power at a research university. Third, "The Politics of Opportunity: Philanthropic Fellowships, Out-of-State Aid, and Higher Education for Blacks in the South," by Jayne R. Beilke, describes the development of fellowship programs prior to the 1950s for blacks in the South who desired doctorate degrees. The fourth article, "The Political Culture of American's Antebellum Colleges," by Paul H. Mattingly assesses the evangelical and political context in which these institutions grew. The fifth article, by David B. Potts, reports on a historical research study and is titled: "Trustee Demography and Shifts in Institutional Identity: Wesleyan University, 1831-1993". Following the articles is a review essay entitled "Historical Sociology Meets the Credentialing Society" by John F.P. Halsey and W. Bruce Leslie. The purpose of the essay is to review David K. Brown's book, "Degree of Control! A Sociology of Educational Expansion and Occupational Credentials," which examines the process that caused American institutions to pioneer broadly accessible "mass" higher education between 1880 and 1930. The final section of the document contains summaries of recent dissertations on the history of higher education. (Individual articles contain references.) (DB)

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HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

1997

VOLUME SEVENTEEN

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HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

1997
VOLUME SEVENTEEN

AN ANNUAL PUBLICATION UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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On the cover: An artist's rendition of DePaul University's downtown building at 64 East Lake Street, erected in 1928. Photo courtesy of DePaul University Archives.

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THE URBAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SOCIAL PROFILE OF DEPAUL, 1898-1940

JOHN L. RURY

This article examines the background characteristics of students at DePaul University and other urban Catholic institutions between 1898 and 1940. The vast majority of these students were the sons (and later the daughters) of European immigrants, and most appear to have been from modest but middle-class backgrounds. As DePaul and other similar institutions added professional schools and grew larger, the student body became more diverse. Significant numbers of non-Catholics were enrolled at the University's downtown campus, particularly Jewish students. After DePaul became coeducational, the emphasis on professional education resulted in a curious differentiation of male and female enrollments between the various schools and colleges. On the eve of the Second World War, the hallmark of the urban Catholic university was a functional adaptation to demand for trained professionals and a willingness to serve a somewhat diverse clientele.

This article examines the development of an important Catholic university in Chicago, and compares it with a number of other similar institutions in the twentieth century. This school, DePaul University, is today among the largest Catholic institutions in the United States (1996 enrollment 17,294). For most of its existence DePaul was a significant local university in Chicago, one that drew most of its students from the immediate urban environment. It was also a church-sponsored institution, founded to provide morally sound and practical instruction to the sons—and later the daughters—of the city's growing Catholic population. Like many other urban universities, it eventually became a relatively complex institution, with multiple campuses and an array of graduate and professional programs. Given these characteristics, DePaul repsents a certain type of university: a multifaceted, church based, urban institution. Most large American cities featured at least one such school by the early twentieth century; several major cities had two or more. And the majority of them were Catholic. Relatively little is known, however, about these universities and the circumstances of their development. This case study is intended to begin to fill this void.

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The period covered by this study was a critical time in the development of institutions such as these. In his broadly conceived study of American higher education at this time, David O. Levine has characterized urban institutions of higher education in the first four decades of the twentieth century as "plastic," or quick to adapt to the demands of their immediate environments. He has noted the growth of sizable Catholic institutions such as DePaul (although DePaul is not mentioned), and has suggested that they exhibited many of the qualities of other urban schools in this period. But Levine does not examine any of these institutions closely; nor does he provide data on the clientele they served.[1] This study explores some of the themes Levine has identified in examining the development of a particular institution, with special attention to its students.

Much research in recent years has focused on the clientele of colleges and universities, and the purposes these institutions served in society at large. In particular, Levine has argued that a "culture of aspiration" led a wide variety of students to seek higher education in these years. Because Levine does not focus closely on particular institutions or groups of students, however, he is unable to say much about the characteristics of such a culture.[2] By examining the social backgrounds of students and the various curricula they pursued, this article identifies some of the ways students may have identified themselves at universities such as DePaul, taking their goals into account. To this end, the article offers a social profile of a particular urban Catholic university, identifying the clientele it served at various points in time. Where available, information from other institutions is considered also. It is with such data that questions of why students attended these universities can begin to be addressed, and the parameters of a "culture of aspiration" can be sketched.

In many respects, universities such as DePaul were distinctively urban institutions, and their urban circumstances are reflected in their students and in the programs designed to serve them. Despite their clearly religious identities, these schools came to attract rather diverse student bodies. They often operated in a very competitive marketplace of higher education institutions. Developing programs of professional education to attract students in such circumstances was often essential to survival and growth. And students looked to these schools for skills and knowledge that could be used in a rapidly evolving urban environment. Out of this process of adaptation to a changing urban educational scene, institutions such as DePaul took shape in the twentieth century.

ORIGINS

Like many other large Catholic institutions, DePaul was established in the late nineteenth century, as the urban Catholic population expanded rapidly with the arrival of European immigrants. It was founded as St. Vincent's College in 1898, on the North side of the city by priests from the Congregation of the Mission, popularly known as Vincentians. In the beginning it featured a curricular structure quite similar to that of other Catholic colleges at the time: a classically based program of academy and collegiate studies, augmented by a large commercial course and an assortment of other prepatory or "special" classes. It was not the first such institution to appear in the city. The Jesuits had founded St. Ignatius College in 1870, which later became Loyola University. From the beginning both institutions served a variety of purposes, although a shared mission was to provide classical training for young Catholic men intent upon preparation for the priesthood. But both also offered more practical classes, most notably a commercial course that enrolled a sizeable block of students from the very beginning.[3]

As indicated in Table 1, in both St. Vincent's and St. Ignatius the college course was rather small. In 1903, as the Catholic population in its immediate neighborhood dwindled, the Jesuits of St. Ignatius planned a relocation to the far North side of the city. Even though this did not happen immediately, it underscored the fact that the two institutions were competitors and drew students from some of the same neighborhoods.[4] This probably made it difficult for either one to flourish, despite Chicago's large Catholic population. The two colleges took their present identities as DePaul and Loyola in 1908 and 1909 respectively. Like other urban Catholic institutions, both eventually expanded their curricula and began adding new areas of study for various professions. From the beginning, however, Loyola and DePaul served a distinctively urban clientele, students who attended each institution for a variety of reasons.

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT IN VARIOUS COURSES OF STUDY,
ST. IGNATIUS COLLEGE AND ST. VINCENT'S COLLEGE, 1897-1909
(averages across the entire period)

	Academy	Commercial	Collegiate	Other
St. Ignatius	51%	18%	20%	9%
St. Vincent's	35%	34%	12%	19%

Figures for St. Ignatius are based on the years 1897 to 1909, while those for St. Vincent's are for the years 1898 to 1903 and 1905 to 1908. The latter should be interpreted as general estimates rather than precise indicators for the period in question.

Source: L. Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions Upon the Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University of Chicago, and DePaul University" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1986), Volume 1, pp. 191 and 229.

As a number of other scholars have noted, the best general primary source on the social backgrounds of American college students at the turn of the century is the survey data published by the Immigration Commission in 1908.[5] Among the dozens of institutions examined in this study, sponsored by the U.S. Senate to investigate the social conditions of immigrant life, were nine Catholic colleges in different cities in the Northeast and Midwest.

There was considerable concern about the educational attainment of immigrants, and the commission sought to determine the ethnic backgrounds of the collegiate population. Since the vast majority of college students were born in the U.S., each subject's ethnicity was identified by his father's birthplace (all the Catholic college students surveyed were male). The largest group of identifiably ethnic students was Irish, comprising nearly sixty percent of the second-generation students enrolled in the collegiate programs. The next largest group was German, representing about twenty percent of the second-generation students. No other group counted as much as five percent. While the Immigration Commission survey did not determine other characteristics of students at these or other institutions, its findings do provide useful insights into which immigrant groups made use of higher education institutions. Clearly, the Irish and the Germans, the oldest and most influential Catholic groups in the country, dominated the student bodies of these urban Catholic schools.[6]

St. Ignatius College (soon to be rechartered as Loyola University) was one of the schools surveyed by the Immigration Commission. The Commission counted just 66 students in the "Academic" or collegiate course at St. Ignatius, 36 of who had fathers born abroad (the college catalogue for 1907-1908 lists 90 students in the collegiate course). Seventeen, or 48 percent, of these students were of Irish descent, a slightly lower percentage than at most of the other schools in the survey. The five German students listed at St. Ignatius (only fourteen percent) were also a smaller group than at most of the other institutions. While no other group was larger than these two, St. Ignatius apparently enrolled students from an unusually wide array of other immigrant backgrounds at this time, including representatives of Czechs, Italians and other Catholic groups. Just the same, in Chicago's oldest Catholic college, as in Catholic institutions elsewhere, the Irish and the Germans were the largest groups of students.[7]
DePaul was not surveyed by the Immigration Commission. A far richer data set exists, however, to examine the social background of early DePaul students. Using names taken from early registration materials, records for 172 individuals were located in the 1900 and 1910 U.S. manuscript census, using the Soundex Index. This sample was identified from a total of about 800 students enrolled in the first ten years of the institution's existence. These students were selected in two stages. First, a one in five sample was identified randomly, with random replacement for those who could not be located in the census. This produced a group of 142 students with census records for their households in either 1900 or 1910. Then a second group of thirty

Table 2
ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN
VARIOUS CURRICULA AT ST. VINCENT'S COLLEGE, 1898-1908
(GRANDFATHER'S NATIVITY)
FROM STUDENTS IN SAMPLE (N=172)

	College Course	Commercial Course	Academc	Other
Irish	30	24	22	10
German	5	17	16	13
U.S.	4	2	3	6
Other	1	2	1	2

was added to identify a larger group of students registered in the college course, the smallest of the institution's major curricular areas (some academy and commercial students were added also). With this over sampling of the college students, comparable groups of students in St. Vincent's three principal courses of study were made available for study. While this is not a purely random sample, it does provide representative segments of the institution's most important groups of students. And on the basis of information provided by the manuscript census, it is possible to determine a great deal about their social backgrounds.[8]

The census data used to examine the backgrounds of DePaul students is superior in many respects to the data from the Immigration Commission survey. To begin, it provides information on the birthplaces of grandparents. It is possible, in that case, to identify the ethnic backgrounds of a larger proportion of students. Using these data, it is also possible to calculate the ages of students at the time of their enrollment in a particular branch of the institution (subject, of course, to the margin of error associated with a sample of this size). Not surprisingly, the students enrolled in the collegiate course, at 18.3 years, were an average of about 1.5 years older than the academy students. Yet students in the commercial course were even younger than their counterparts in the academy, by about half a year on average. The census data also provide information on a wide array of other household characteristics, including the occupational status of parents, the presence and disposition of other children, home ownership and literacy. And it indicates where the student lived at the time of the census. With information such as this it is possible to construct a rather detailed social profile of the first generation of students at DePaul.

By and large, the ethnic pattern of enrollments at DePaul appears to have been quite similar to that observed at St. Ignatius and other Catholic colleges at this time. If there was one characteristic that these early DePaul students shared, it was their

TABLE 3
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN VARIOUS CURRICULA,
ST. VINCENT'S COLLEGE, 1898-1908
(FATHER'S OCCUPATION OR STUDENT'S OCCUPATION)
FROM STUDENTS IN SAMPLE (N=172)

	College Course	Commercial Course	Academy	Other
Professional Merchant or Capitalist	8	6	11	5
White Collar or Proprietary	20	34	29	21
Skilled Worker	7	6	1	5
Unskilled, Semi-skilled Worker	1	3	2	2
Unemployed or Missing	5	0	4	2

immigrant backgrounds. Like their counterparts at St. Ignatius, the first generation of students at St. Vincent's were the sons and grandsons of Chicago's Irish and German immigrants. The sample data reveal that nearly half were from Irish households, while roughly another third were of German heritage. The others included representatives of an array of other immigrant groups, including British, Canadians and Italians. Fewer than eight percent of the students in the sample had grandfathers born in the United States. Given this, there can be little doubt that DePaul, like Loyola, started as a school for the city's principal immigrant groups.

Irish, of course, were the largest group of Catholic immigrants in the city at the turn of the century, and they had long dominated the local Catholic community.[9] Little wonder, then, that the Irish were the largest segment of students at both of these Catholic institutions during the decade following 1898. The Germans were an even larger immigrant group in Chicago, but a minority of them were Catholic.[10] Even so, they represented a considerable presence in both institutions. Like the local Church itself, these small colleges represented the major elements of the city's immigrant population, particularly on the North side.

Census data provide a wide array of additional information on student backgrounds other than ethnicity. Of particular interest is the occupational status of students' parents, which provides a glimpse of social class. In this respect, the backgrounds of the first generation of DePaul students were quite different from most other immigrants. Chicago was an industrial city at this time. The bulk of its immigrant labor force worked in shops and factories, many of them as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. Others were skilled workers or small-scale proprietors, often struggling to make ends meet.[11] Surveys conducted at the start of the twentieth century found that many immigrant families sent their children into the labor force to contribute to household income, or adopted such alternative strategies for making money as taking in boarders or performing home work of various sorts.[12]

While the families of DePaul students in the sample appear to have utilized some of these strategies, particularly the fifteen percent with no father present, most seem to have represented something of an elite among the city's ethnic population. Fully two-thirds of these students' fathers held white collar or proprietary jobs. They included lawyers, merchants, wholesalers, and a wide variety of clerks, contractors, managers and municipal employees. The rest worked in blue-collar jobs, but only twelve percent were unskilled or semiskilled laborers. This occupational profile was dramatically different from the city's larger immigrant community. At that time over half of the city's labor force was engaged in manual labor, and the percentage was considerably higher among Catholic immigrants. Only about a third of Chicago's work force held jobs comparable to the majority of household heads in the sample, and the percentage was doubtless much smaller for Catholics. Even if St. Vincent's students offered a picture of ethnic diversity, as a group they also represented a rather select social stratum in the city's immigrant community.[13]

Other characteristics tell a similar story. The average age of students' parents in the sample was over 48, which meant that these were mature households, at or near the peak of their earning potential.[14] Little wonder, then, that the families of early DePaul students appear to have enjoyed a modicum of wealth. Nearly sixty percent of the students in the sample came from households in which the family owned the home they lived in, well above the norm for the city. Less than a quarter of the residences in Chicago were owned by their inhabitants. Survey data from the Immigration Commission showed even lower numbers among immigrants in 1907.[15] Interestingly, nearly two-thirds of the working class parents in the sample owned their homes. This suggests that even relatively low status students at St. Vincent's did not come from impoverished backgrounds. Although no information is provided on the educational backgrounds of parents, all but a few parents of students in the sample claimed to be literate. For the most part, the families sending their sons to St. Vincent's appear to have been rather well off.

The census data provide yet other insights into the lives of these students. Family sizes varied considerably, but the average was about five children. Even so, not all children in these households were equally likely to attend St. Vincent's. Fully forty-one percent of the students in the sample were either first born or the oldest surviving child in the family. Another twenty-eight were second in the birth order. For the most part, it appears that these immigrant families sent their oldest boys to St. Vincent's. This was a new institution, after all, and if immigrant families were going to invest in education for their sons it was the older children who seem to have benefited. When younger boys attended there was often an older working sibling present in the household. Indeed, there is a moderate (.45) but positive statistical relationship between a student's position in the birth order and the presence of a working sibling. Families that sent their younger sons to St. Vincent's may have used the earnings of older children to supplement the household income.[16]

The census also is a valuable source of information on where students lived. Like St. Ignatius and most other urban Catholic institutions, St. Vincent's was not a residential college, and the majority of its early students appear to have lived close by. In 1900, the school was located in the northeast corner of the 20th Ward, just a few blocks from corners shared with three other wards. Over three-quarters of the students sampled from the institution's first ten years lived in these four wards. Many lived in other north-side neighborhoods and a significant minority came from the wards around the city's center. For the most part, St. Vincent's was a neighborhood institution, even though it seems to have attracted some students from a considerable distance as well.

Given its location on the city's predominantly German north side and its neighborhood origins of its students, it is curious that such a large block of St. Vincent's students were of Irish descent. Historian James Sanders has noted that Germans outnumbered the Irish in local parochial schools south of Irving Park Road (some two miles north of St. Vincent's) by nearly a two to one margin.[17] This pattern is evident in the location of early students' homes. More than forty percent of the Germans in the student sample lived in the 25th Ward, only two blocks north of St. Vincent's. Another third came from other north-side wards. The majority of St. Vincent's Irish students, on the other hand, hailed from the same general area, but they appear to have been less concentrated in particular neighborhoods. Again, the largest group came from the 25th Ward, but it represented less than a fifth of the Irish students in the sample. Another large group–a little more than a third–came from the other three wards immediately contiguous to the college. And the rest were scattered across the city. Altogether, Irish students in the sample hailed from some twenty-three different wards, while German students came from just twelve. Although there are many caveats to these data, this suggests that St. Vincent's succeeded in attracting Irish students from a wider area than it did the Germans.[18]

This pattern of dispersion and the large number of Irish students suggest, of course, that the school was especially attractive to a particular group. Indeed, it is likely that many Chicago Catholics at the time viewed St. Vincent's as an Irish school.[19] Of course, the college's first President and spiritual leader was himself Irish, Peter Vincent Byrne. In as much as St. Vincent's obtained an ethnic character, in that case, it almost certainly was Irish.[20]

The question of the institution's ethnic identification is somewhat more complex, however, than it may appear at first glance. Using early registration rolls, it is possible to examine the backgrounds of students enrolled in each of the institution's three principal divisions. By and large, there was little difference in the occupational or social class backgrounds of students enrolled in the different curricula at St. Vincent's. But students from different ethnic backgrounds were not evenly distributed across the various programs offered at the institution. Judging from the student sample, about a third of the students enrolled in both the academy (or high school) and the commercial course were German, while about half were Irish. The remainder was third generation U.S. (with American born grandparents) and other groups. In the college course, however, the Irish outnumbered other groups by a margin of about three to one. Of the forty students in the college sample, fully thirty were from Irish households. Only five, on the other hand, were German. This was even a higher degree of Irish dominance than observed in the collegiate course at St. Ignatius with the Immigration Commission survey (although it may explain the low number of German students observed at St. Ignatius). If St. Vincent's was indeed an Irish institution, it was most clearly evident in the college course of study.

Not surprisingly, there also were differences in the geographical distribution of the students in the various branches of St. Vincent's. For the most part, the academy and commercial students appear to have lived close by. Three quarters of the Commercial students and fully eighty percent of the Academy students in the sample lived in nearby north-side wards in 1900. By and large, these were younger students, and programs in secondary education and commercial subjects were widely available elsewhere in the city. As suggested earlier, St. Vincent's academy and commercial programs appear to have served a rather localized clientele. On the other hand, only two thirds of the collegiate students in the sample lived in the same north-side wards. Thus it appears that a larger proportion of the college students came from outside of the institution's immediate neighborhood than the other two programs. The college program was more specialized, and the students were older on average than their commercial and academy counterparts. All other things being equal, one would expect the college course to draw students from a wider area than the other programs. The collegiate branch of St. Vincent's was somewhat less a neighborhood institution, and this no doubt contributed to the peculiar ethnic distribution of the college students.

The college course was the smallest of the various programs offered at St. Vincent's during these years. But in many respects it also represented the heart of the institution. It was the college course, after all, which distinguished St. Vincent's from a host of Catholic high schools, business schools and other institutions that also offered various forms of instruction.[21] The college demanded the highest levels of academic proficiency and awarded bachelors and masters degrees. The students in the college course were generally older, participated in prestigious academic competitions, and received the greatest recognition at commencement and other public occasions. The college athletic teams represented the institution for the entire student body, and perhaps in the public eye as well.[22] If there was indeed a distinctive feature of St. Vincent's at this time, it was the college course. And for the most part the sons of Irish families populated it.

This raises the question of social standing once again. If the college was the most specialized and prestigious course of study in the institution, did the largely Irish clientele represent an elite within the city's Catholic community? Here the answer appears to be "perhaps." Judging from the student sample, a minority of the students enrolled in the college during these years came from blue collar or working class backgrounds. By and large, the proportion of working class students identified in the college sample was similar to the rest of the student body. The other college students came from higher status backgrounds, and a larger proportion had fathers in the professions than their counterparts in the academy or the commercial course. Despite the fact that most students came from apparently comfortable—if not altogether affluent—households, in that case, St. Vincent's signaled a commitment to serving students from all social strata. Even if the sons of working class parents were comparatively small in number, they were as likely to be enrolled in the college course as in the other curricula of the institution.

During the early years of DePaul and Loyola, these were clearly institutions serving limited segments of the city's ethnic Catholic community. These students do not appear to have been motivated by a cosmopolitan "culture of aspiration" of the sort described by Levine. For many Irish students, some of whom apparently came from across the city, both schools appear to have represented an opportunity for collegiate instruction under the auspices of the Church. There was little vocational emphasis in the collegiate course, although it is possible that some of these students aspired to the priesthood, particularly those from working class backgrounds.[23] If the evidence from St. Vincent's is indicative, on the other hand, for the bulk of German students these institutions probably represented an opportunity for a sound education at the secondary level, and practical courses in business subjects for professional advancement. For the German students in particular, St. Vincent's appears to have functioned as a neighborhood institution, one which undoubtedly competed with other high schools and the proprietary business schools which were proliferating in these years. For yet other students, these two institutions posed an opportunity for learning and growth in a variety of directions. The range of options for study at both DePaul and Loyola would expand dramatically in the years to come, making the student body yet more diverse, and reflecting aspirations characteristic of the period Levine has described.

YEARS OF DIVERSIFICATION AND GROWTH

DePaul, like other urban Catholic universities, expanded in the opening decades of the twentieth century, although growth was slow at first. The principal means of growth for such institutions was the development of professional schools and institutes; many of them acquired by affiliating with existing institutions. Loyola added law and medical schools in 1909 and 1910, and by 1912 DePaul had established a loop "campus" by moving its commercial department downtown and acquiring the hitherto independent Illinois College of Law. Both institutions grew by fits and starts in the years following their formal designations as universities in 1908 and 1909. The addition of new programs in engineering and other technical fields in 1907 added some students to incoming classes at DePaul; although the university's engineering department did not survive the First World War. But the traditional undergraduate or "collegiate" programs at both institutions languished in these years.[24] Not until the period following the First World War did DePaul begin to experience significant growth.

This pattern of growth corresponds very closely to that described by Levine as characteristic of other denominational urban institutions at this time. The twenties were a time of rapid expansion in American higher education, particularly in large cities. The urban variant of Levine's "culture of aspiration" placed special emphasis on professional education and preparation for careers.[25] This was certainly evident at DePaul and Loyola, as the universities' respective professional schools led their expansion in the 1920's and thirties.

At DePaul the most dramatic growth began with the expansion of the university's commercial programs into a free standing college located at 84 East Randolph and the acquisition of the Illinois College of Law in 1912. Within a few years enrollments in the downtown programs outnumbered those on the North side, although large "extension" classes conducted for teachers in the College of Arts and Sciences, mostly in the summer, made the annual numbers on each campus nearly equal.[26] This pattern continued into the twenties, even though enrollments uptown (eventually called the Lincoln Park campus) grew rapidly at that time also. In the spirit of entrepreneurial service to its urban constituency, DePaul also established a secretarial school, a music school and a prepatory department at the downtown campus. In 1928 DePaul built an office tower at 64 East Lake Street to accommodate the expanding loop programs. At the same time the university started a "Downtown College of Liberal Arts," which primarily served teachers seeking extra credits and college degrees in evening classes.[27] By the end of the decade a significant majority of DePaul students were located in the loop (Table 4).

A similar process occurred at Loyola, which started programs in social work and teacher education. In the years prior to the war, enrollments in Loyola's College of Arts languished, while the numbers of students in professional programs—particularly medicine—grew steadily. By the start of the thirties enrollments in law, medicine and dentistry still outnumbered traditional undergraduate program enrollments by more than two to one, despite rapid growth in the college.[28] While they both grew rapidly, DePaul and Loyola each came to be dominated by its professional schools and they both became known for contributions to the city's various communities of professionals. This was a pattern of development characteristic of urban Catholic Universities in this period.[29]

Changes such as these appear to have had an important effect on these institutions. Adding programs at the downtown location promised to make DePaul less a neighborhood institution, of course, and enabled it to attract students from a wider range of backgrounds. The Illinois College of Law was a proprietary school, with a largely

Protestant student population along with a significant Jewish enrollment. The numbers of non-Catholics enrolled in the Law school remained high long after it had been fully integrated into the university. The expansion of commercial programs at the downtown program also seems to have attracted a significant number of non-Catholics.[30]

TABLE 4
ENROLLMENT IN DEGREE GRANTING SCHOOLS AND
COLLEGES AT DEPAUL, 1917 AND 1930

School or College	1917	1930
Liberal Arts & Science (Lincoln Park Day)	170*	524
Law	235	
Day		318*
Evening		301
Commerce	160	
Day		161*
Evening		739
Education*	515	
Undergraduate		1256
Graduate		145
Music	40*	67*

1917 LA&S figures include 55 engineering students. 1930 daytime Law and Commerce figures are from 1928, and the 1917 Music figure is from 1916. The 1930 music figure is for part-time students in Music and Drama (there were few full-time students in either program).

*Education enrollments prior to the twenties were predominantly at Lincoln Park during the summer; enrollments for 1930 are in the Downtown College of Liberal Arts. Sources: The 1917 figures are from Lester Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest 1842-1980" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1986) p. 271. The 1930 figures are compiled from "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1930-31 File, DPUA.

Similar trends were evident at Loyola. St. Ignatius had ceased to be a neighborhood institution by the 1890's, as enrollments increased and the Catholic population in its west-side parish declined. With the acquisition of its medical school in 1909, however, and the later addition of a large dental school, Loyola also acquired large numbers of non-Catholic students. As was the case at DePaul's professional schools, many of these students were Protestant, but a growing number were Jewish. In the case of both of these urban Catholic institutions, the acquisition of large professional schools meant that a significant minority of the student body—and the faculty also—were not Catholic.[31]

THE ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE STUDENT BODY

What kinds of students attended these institutions in the years following World War I, as they expanded by adding professional schools and creating programs for such niche markets as music teachers and secretaries? This question is relevant to the issue of whether a coherent or consistent "culture of aspiration" influenced students at such institutions, and the ways in which different groups of students may have responded to the changing economic and education scene which helped to define such a culture.

Philip Gleason has documented the concern which many Catholic educators, particularly the Jesuits, felt about the apparently growing numbers of non-Catholic students and faculty members at Catholic colleges and universities in the 1920's. This was especially true in urban institutions. In his study of several Mid-west Catholic institutions (including DePaul and Loyola), Lester Goodchild noted that the number of non-Catholic students at Loyola increased sharply in this period, from about seven percent in 1926 to seventeen percent in 1939.[32] The majority of these students were enrolled in the university's professional schools. But little is known about the social characteristics of the new groups of students entering these universities at this time, apart from their non-Catholic religious backgrounds. Once again, evidence from DePaul is instructive.

While individual records that can be linked to census data for later generations of students do not exist, it is possible to determine certain characteristics of students attending DePaul in the 1920's and thirties. The first university yearbooks appeared in the 1920's at DePaul, listing the names of seniors (and sometimes other classes) and students involved in various activities. Using a dictionary of names, it is possible to group these names into broad ethnic classifications, providing a general picture of the institution's ethnic profile at a particular time. In 1925, for instance, more than half of the 148 seniors in all branches of the university had names which could be classified as Irish or English in origin. On the other hand, slightly over a quarter of the seniors had names that could be described as German or Jewish. Roughly ten percent had names which were clearly eastern European (mostly Polish) or Mediterranean (mainly Italian) in origin. In 1930 similar patterns appeared.[33]

Names, of course, are notoriously inexact indicators of ethnic identity. If the broad groupings identified from the yearbooks were generally accurate, however, it would suggest that the number of students with Irish backgrounds at DePaul remained significant, and that the city's German neighborhoods continued to be an important source of students as well. This, of course, was a pattern at other Catholic institutions of higher education in the twentieth century, as the Irish also tended to be a dominant group elsewhere. Surprisingly, there were relatively small numbers of students from Chicago's other principal Catholic ethnic communities, particularly Czechs, Poles and Italians. But as other scholars have noted, these groups do not appear to have sent large numbers of their sons and daughters to college at this time.[34] The Irish and the Germans continued to be the city's wealthiest and most influential Catholic groups, and it was their sons and daughters who appeared at DePaul in the largest numbers in these years.

Interestingly, there continued to be significant differences in the ethnic distribution of students across the various colleges at DePaul in the 1920's. Using the names of the 1925 and 1930 seniors as a guide, it appears that the university's two principal professional schools, Law and Commerce, attracted the vast majority of Jewish and German students. The College of Arts and Sciences was still rather small at this time, but of the twenty-four seniors in 1925 only one was identified as having a German name and none had Jewish names. In 1930 there were thirteen seniors with German or Jewish names, but forty-six with English or Irish names. Altogether, about seventy percent of the Lincoln Park seniors had English or Irish names when both years are combined. The remainder was a smattering of other groups, including Polish, Italian and even a Japanese student. At the Lincoln Park campus, students from native English speaking groups appear to have predominated.

In the two downtown professional schools, on the other hand, almost thirty percent of the students had Jewish or German names in 1925, and thirty-eight percent in 1930. Here too the largest groups were students with English and Irish names, accounting for about fifty-six percent of the seniors in 1925 and forty-four percent in 1930. But it was in the university's major professional schools that the largest block of students from non-English speaking immigrant backgrounds appears to have been located. And their numbers seem to have been growing. An analysis of freshman names provided in the 1930 yearbook (one of the few to provide such information) reveals that just thirty-six percent of the Commerce and Law students pictured had English or Irish names, while forty-nine percent had German or Jewish names (and ninety percent of these were identifiably Jewish). In the Law School, which had the largest number of student photos, German and Jewish names constituted a slight majority. At the Lincoln Park campus, on the other hand, freshmen with English and Irish names numbered almost seventy percent of the class, and those with German or Jewish names represented about twenty percent. Even if the yearbook data and the identification of names left significant numbers of students out of these estimates, it is clear that the populations at DePaul's two principal campuses were quite different.[35]

As DePaul grew and became multifaceted in the years following World War I, it was the downtown professional schools that attracted new groups of students. The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park appears to have retained the Irish flavor it obtained at the turn of the century. As this urban Catholic institution expanded in the third decade of the century, it continued to exhibit a good deal of ethnic differentiation in the curricula chosen by various groups of students.

The existence of large numbers of names identifiable as "English" and "Jewish," of course, poses the question of religious background. In its promotional literature DePaul clearly declared itself open to students of all religious backgrounds, and pointed to the presence of non-Catholic students throughout the university. Like many other institutions, the university grew rapidly in the years following 1920. Is it possible that a growing number of DePaul students in this period were non-Catholic? Does the relatively large number of students with names that may have been English in origin (as many as a third in the College of Arts and Sciences) mean that DePaul enrolled a significant number of Protestants? And what does this information suggest about the university's role in educating the sons and daughters of Chicago's immigrant communities?

Information culled from yearbooks can be supplemented with systematic data collected by DePaul on the religious backgrounds of students, beginning in the early 1930's. At the start of each term, in conjunction with registration, the university asked students to identify a religious affiliation. Most students appear to have provided this information, and the results were quite stable throughout the decade of the thirties. These data show the vast majority to have been Catholic, but they also indicate a sizeable non-Catholic minority. Together with the information from the yearbooks, the data on religious backgrounds of DePaul students offers a clearer profile of the student body in this period.[36]

In general, the enrollment patterns revealed by the religious background data correspond closely to the ethnic distribution of students observed in the 1925 and 1930 yearbooks. In 1931, for instance, eighty-five percent of the students in the College of Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park reported their religious affiliation as Catholic. The remainder was about evenly divided between Protestant and Jewish. At the loop campus the figures were quite different, although Catholics still constituted a majority. In the College of Commerce, for instance, nearly three-quarters (74%) of the day students were Catholic in 1936, while some fifteen percent were Jewish. The largest group of non-Catholics, however, was in the Law School, where Catholics numbered slightly fewer than half the students, and self-identified Jewish students constituted about a quarter in the mid-thirties. Another sizeable group of law students, as many as fifteen percent, indicated no religious affiliation—the largest such group in the university. If most of the latter students were Jewish, as many contemporaries suspected, the numbers of Jewish law students as DePaul may have been almost as great as the Catholics.[37]

While surprising, this generally corresponds to the data from the 1930 yearbook, which found comparably large numbers of law and commerce seniors with Jewish or German names. The important exception to this pattern of non-Catholic enrollments in the loop was the Downtown College of Liberal Arts, which chiefly served teachers. In this college fully eighty percent of the lay students were Catholic, and only four percent were Jewish. Even so, given the sizeable numbers of non-Catholics in the university's two premier professional schools, most of them Jewish, there can be little doubt that there was considerably more ethnic diversity at the loop campus than at

Lincoln Park. By and large, in that case, while it appears that DePaul had remained largely a Catholic university, it also had come to embrace a rather large group of other students.

In the university as a whole, given the figures above, Catholics probably numbered about seventy percent of all students. Jewish students may have represented as many as twenty percent, with the largest concentration being at the loop campus. Thus, Protestant students were the smallest group at the university, at least among the students. The patterns of representation where quite different at DePaul's two campuses, of course, as the Jewish presence was certainly most evident in the loop. It is possible that as many as one in four students attending the loop campus in the 1930's were Jewish. And Protestants were a small minority everywhere. On both campuses, the majority of the university's students continued to be drawn from the city's immigrant communities. Despite the large number of apparently "English" names (or German ones for that matter) evident in the yearbooks, there were relatively few white anglo saxon Protestant students at DePaul in these years.

Similar tendencies appear to have been at play at other institutions, although the evidence is less complete. In a study of Duquense University, Bernard Weiss found that Irish students were the dominant group in these years, but the university's professional schools also graduated significant groups of German and Jewish students. As at DePaul, the majority of students at Duquense were enrolled in the professional schools, principally business and law. In the latter twenties, studies conducted by the Jesuits in response to charges that their institutions were serving too many non-Catholics revealed that significant numbers of their students were Protestant or Jewish, particularly in professional schools. This was especially true at the larger urban institutions. As Levine notes in his study of higher education in this period, all urban denominational schools served an urban clientele eager for professional training. Because there were relatively few alternatives in Chicago and other large cities, many urban non-Catholics turned to the growing Catholic universities as a way of gaining access to the professions.[38] But data from DePaul suggests that relatively few of these non-Catholics were Protestants. The largest group was Jewish students, themselves the children or grandchildren of immigrants. At institutions such as DePaul, it appears, the culture of aspiration acquired a decidedly ethnic character, even if any number of different ethnic groups were represented. This was especially true in the principal professional schools, where students from several of the city's important immigrant communities aspired together for a ticket to professional status.

OTHER DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL STATUS: CLASS AND LOCATION

In addition to information of students' religious backgrounds, DePaul also collected data on where students lived and other dimensions of their social status in the mid-1930's. These aspects of student's lives, of course, can be compared to characteristics identified with the census data for earlier students discussed above. And this too is relevant to the question of a cosmopolitan set of aspirations that may have affected students.

In the fall of 1936, the College of Arts and Sciences surveyed its freshman about the occupations of their fathers. By and large, the results do not appear to have been much different from the occupational profile obtained with census data for the university's very first students. About eighty percent of the students reporting such data indicated that their fathers worked in white-collar occupations of one sort or another. Relatively few, about seven percent, were employed in traditional professions requiring college level education. Most of the others were small businessmen, managers, salesmen, clerks or government employees. Only one in five reported that their fathers were blue-collar workers, and a slight majority of these were skilled. As in the labor force at large, the number of blue-collar households represented among DePaul students appears to have dropped in the decades following 1900.[39] This trend may have been exacerbated by the depression, of course. But it also reflected the largely middle class constituency for institutions such as DePaul. Judging from the data provided by this particular survey, DePaul's Lincoln Park campus continued to serve the city's Catholic middle class throughout this period.

In the summer of 1937 the university collected information on the occupational backgrounds of the mostly adult students in the Downtown College of Liberal Arts.[40] In keeping with the stated purpose of this college in teacher preparation, some sixty-four percent of the students in this college who reported their backgrounds were employed as teachers or school administrators. Another twenty-nine percent declared themselves "students," and many of these may have been preparing to be teachers, or simply taking courses for other degrees on a part-time basis. A wide array of other occupations were also reported, extending from clerks and waiters to several lawyers and a "dean of women," but these added up to less than ten percent of the students reporting their occupations.

As the Dean of this college occasionally observed, DePaul's downtown liberal arts program was principally a teacher-training program. Enrollments were about two-thirds female, and in the 1930's about half were religious sisters and brothers teaching in area parochial schools. With an average of over twelve hundred students enrolled each term, the vast majority of them part-time, this was the largest college in the university—at least in terms of head count (credit hour production was similar to Lincoln Park in the thirties). As a source of income, it was a significant element of the university. As Gleason has noted the ties of Catholic universities to the elementary and secondary school system at this time was important indeed.[41] Most of the adult students who came to DePaul through teacher education programs were themselves teachers or others aspiring to the middle class status of teachers.

If the occupational profile of most DePaul students continued to be in the broad middle class, however, other things did change. Chicago, of course, was a considerably larger city in the thirties, and it also possessed a well-developed and complex transportation system. As commuters, DePaul's students were undoubtedly concerned about the college's location and its accessibility. And there is evidence of this in the geographic distribution of students' homes.

In 1935 DePaul conducted a survey of students at the Lincoln Park campus to determine where they lived.[42] Among 362 students in the College of Arts and Sciences, fully forty-five percent came from the North and Northwest sides of the city, the area of closest proximity and the location of Chicago's largest German communities and many Irish neighborhoods as well. Despite this, as seen earlier, the student body there appears to have remained predominantly Irish, insofar as it obtained an identifiable ethnic character at all. For these students the campus's location may well have been an attraction. This was a somewhat lower proportion of the college's student body than in the institution's early years, when a majority of students came from these neighborhoods. By the mid-1930's, another forty-five percent of the students at Lincoln Park came to school from other Chicago neighborhoods, including large contingents from the Southeast and Southwest sides. These areas represented important and growing Irish and Polish Catholic neighborhoods in this period, and together they provided about a quarter of the college's student body.[43] Another ten percent came from nearby suburban communities. A slight majority of DePaul's full-time liberal arts students, in that case, commuted a considerable distance to attend college.

This was something of a change from the pattern observed in 1900, but a significant number of collegiate students came from other parts of the city at that time also. The fact that the Lincoln Park campus was only a few blocks from one of the city's elevated transit lines made commuting across town no doubt easier. While location continued to be important for a substantial block of DePaul's Lincoln Park students, in that case, the College of Arts and Sciences also continued to draw its largely Catholic and Irish student body from neighborhoods elsewhere in the city.

In the loop, of course, proximity was less an issue for most students, since all of the major public transportation lines fed into the downtown area and it lacked a substantial residential population in any case. Evidence from a survey of students there indicates that they came from all parts of the city.[44] In early 1936 some 637 commerce students were more or less evenly divided between five major regions of the city (North, Northwest, West, Southwest and South). Indeed, the area with the largest absolute number was the city's South side, home to 149 students. This was hardly a traditional source of students for DePaul, and the numbers certainly cannot be attributed to the force of proximity to the university. Rather, the geographic distribution of students in the College of Commerce appears to reflect the central location of DePaul's loop campus, and the wide appeal of DePaul's large and diverse programs of study in the various business disciplines.

This, of course, was a big change from the pattern observed at the turn of the century. At that time the institution's commercial course of study drew most of its clientele from the immediate area, and it probably competed with proprietary business institutes and public high schools for students. By the 1930's, however, collegiate schools of business had established themselves as distinctively superior to their erstwhile competitors, and DePaul's College of Commerce literally attracted students from all directions.[45] This was possible, of course, because of the well-developed system of public transportation in Chicago at the time, particularly elevated trains and subways. Although comparable data for the other schools are not available, it is likely that DePaul's other loop professional programs—law and teacher training—also drew students from across the city. More than anything else, the rise of professional education and the development of its loop campus heightened DePaul's appeal to students throughout Chicago. In this respect too, the institution became more cosmopolitan.

Important changes occurred at DePaul, in that case, between 1900 and 1940. It clearly had ceased to be a neighborhood institution, and came to serve all parts of the city, particularly at the loop campus. At the same time the student body became somewhat more diverse, although it continued to be constituted largely of the descendants of recent immigrants. Judging from the data on the occupations of uptown freshmen, the university also continued to serve a largely middle class constituency. But the new ethnoreligious diversity of the student body was significant indeed. On the eve of the Second World War, DePaul remained a distinctively urban institution serving a middle class constituency, but it had come to represent a somewhat wider cross section of its city's major areas and its ethnic communities. Culturally speaking, DePaul was diverse in many ways.

COEDUCATION AT DEPAUL

DePaul was among the first coeducational Catholic universities in the country, although several others—including Loyola—admitted women to particular programs.[46] Catholic teachings held coeducation to be a morally dangerous practice, and church authorities routinely condemned it.[47] In the United States, however, the vast majority of non-Catholic colleges and universities were coeducational. And institutions such as DePaul found the opportunity to serve women students difficult to resist. But did men and women pursue the same ends in education? What did the "culture of aspiration" mean for these groups of students?

There is evidence of women attending DePaul as early as 1910 in the College of Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park, although not as full-time students. The earliest women students appear to have attended summertime teacher training institutes, conducted primarily for teachers in the parochial schools—most of whom were members of religious teaching orders. Several other Catholic institutions also appear to have engaged in this practice. There is also evidence of a small number of women enrolled in the College of Commerce and the Law School in this period. Coeducation became a question of university policy, however, in 1916.[48]

The first regular women students in the College of Arts and Science appeared in the 1916-17 academic year, probably as a measure to increase stagnant enrollments at the Lincoln Park campus. In 1917 six women registered in the College of Arts and

Sciences, along with 13 in law and 16 in commerce, and more than 200 in the teacher's institutes. Over the next five years the number of full-time women in the Arts and Sciences grew to 78, or about forty percent of the total student body at Lincoln Park. Women were also enrolled in the other colleges, but in smaller numbers.[49] Once the decision was made to admit women as full-time day students, all the major branches of the university embraced coeducation.

This rapid transition to formally sanctioned coeducation was unusual for Catholic universities.[50] By the latter 1920's and into the thirties, the number of women at DePaul fluctuated between thirty and forty percent of the student population at Lincoln Park.[51] This was the largest concentration of women but there were some in Commerce and a small but consistent presence in the Law School as well. The establishment in 1922 of a "Shorthand School" within the College of Commerce boosted the number of women at the Loop campus considerably, even though they generally did not take classes with students in other departments. When programs in music and theater were added in the twenties, they also attracted a significant number of female students. In the Downtown College of Liberal Arts, with its population of teachers in evening classes, almost seventy percent of the students were female. Overall, in the mid-thirties women numbered about forty percent of the students registered at DePaul, about the same proportion as their representation in the national undergraduate population.[52]

What is striking about the ratio of women to men students at DePaul, however, is not the overall numbers, but their distribution across the institution. While it is true that there were significant numbers of women enrolled, at least for a Catholic university, in virtually every branch of the university there was a marked imbalance in the numbers of men and women. As indicated in Table 5, only in the College of Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park was there a degree of gender balance, even though men outnumbered women by nearly two to one. In every other division of the university, particularly the major professional schools, one gender or the other predominated. In the College of Commerce, for instance, women numbered only one in five students. In the Law School they represented less than one in ten. Law, of course, was a predominantly male profession at the time, as were the various business fields. The schools associated with female professions, on the other hand, Downtown Liberal Arts and Music (both served prospective teachers) were dominated by women students. In both cases female enrollments accounted for more than seventy percent of the students. Across the university there was a high degree of gender differentiation in the student body.

At the same time that the various colleges of DePaul became somewhat differentiated by the ethnic and religious backgrounds of their students, in that case, they were also distinguished by gender. As the university grew with the expansion of professional education, the close association of men and women with different professional identities helped to shape a clear pattern of gender specialization in the curriculum as well. This also corresponds closely to patterns observed by Levine in other institutions at this time. In a "male dominated society," he declared, "the university expanded, but the woman's role in it was sharply limited."[53] At DePaul this does not appear to have been the result of a conscious policy on the part of university administrators or faculty members. Rather, it reflected the purposes students pursued in attending such an institution: professional preparation for careers in the urban industrial society of the twentieth century. In as much as the labor force was differentiated by gender, particularly the urban professions, the curricula of institutions such as DePaul would exhibit a pattern of gender specialization in college enrollments.

TABLE 5
FALL 1935 HEADCOUNT ENROLLMENTS, BY GENDER

College	Male	Female	Percent Female
LA&S (Lincoln Park)	213	120	36%
Commerce:			
Day	300	86	22%
Evening	374	85	18.5%
Law:			
Day	329	36	11%
Evening	226	17	7%
Downtown Liberal Arts			
Lay Enrollments:			
Grad	84	157	65%
Undergrad	189	512	73%
Music	27	90	77%

These figures are for the fall term, and exclude the Academy, Shorthand School and other non-degree programs, and it excludes members of religious orders studying in the Downtown College of Liberal Arts (although their male/female ratios were similar to lay students). University figures from this period reported higher numbers, but included all programs, and often counted all students enrolled over the course of a year. See "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1935-36 File, DPUA.

While it is technically true that DePaul was coeducational in this period, it was a peculiar brand of coeducation. Men and women came to the university, it seems, for quite different purposes. Other Catholic universities appear to have followed a similar path.[54] Indeed, the fact of gender differentiation in professional education meant that the tricky question of coeducation could be downplayed at many Catholic institutions. As long as young men and women pursued largely different programs, many of the thorny moral and religious questions associated with the issue need not be confronted. Philip Gleason has noted that several Catholic institutions adopted coeducation in a "defacto" fashion, by admitting women to professional programs directed toward female professions, particularly teaching.[55] The predominance of professional education at DePaul and similar urban institutions, it seems, made the coeducation controversy within the larger realm of Catholic education considerably less incendiary. As long as young men and women aspired to radically different roles in life, and did not live together on campus, the leaders of urban universities needed to worry little about the consequences of educating them together.

THE URBAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND THE CULTURE OF ASPIRATION

David Levine has described the urban universities of the early twentieth century as opportunistic institutions, realizing growth by seizing upon professional education and capitalizing on the aspirations of successive generations of urban youth.[56] DePaul and other urban Catholic universities certainly appear to fit this general description. Almost from the very beginning, these institutions were dependent upon one form or another of vocational training for their survival. But it was in the period following the First World War, when university based professional education finally gained widespread legitimacy, that these schools began to grow significantly. And when they did expand, it was the professional education programs that led the way.

This pattern of development had important implications for the student bodies which institutions such as these attracted. Because they were founded by largely immigrant religious groups, it is little wonder that the preponderance of students at schools like DePaul or Loyola were themselves from immigrant backgrounds. Given the realities of life for most white ethnic families at the time, it is also little wonder that students enrolled in these institutions came from middle- or upper-class households, the social groups best able to afford some form of extended education.

Still, some dimensions of the social backgrounds of students are noteworthy. Not all students attended these institutions for the same reasons; their aspirations differed. One striking feature is the preponderance of Irish and other native English-language Catholics in the liberal arts colleges that comprised the academic heart of these institutions, at least at the beginning. DePaul started as a neighborhood institution, but from the start it drew Irish students to its collegiate program from across the city. This pattern appears to have continued in the years following World War I. Even as the College of Liberal Arts expanded in the 1920's and thirties, it remained overwhelmingly Catholic and apparently was dominated by students with identifiably Irish or English names. It also remained to a significant degree a neighborhood institution drawing students from Chicago's vast north side, and from certain areas elsewhere in the city. In this and other regards, it may have represented a certain type of culture of aspiration, reserved for particular segments of the city's Catholic population.

At the downtown campus, however, an altogether different set of aspirations seems to have been operative. Programs located there drew students from all over the city, and appear to have attracted students from a wide variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds. While the majority of students at the Loop were Catholic also, a substantial minority—perhaps more than a third—were non-Catholic. Clearly, these non-Catholics, most of whom were Jewish, did not attend DePaul because of its religious identity. Rather, they came in search of professional education. The religious and ethnic identity of the institution was of less concern to them than the quality of its professional programs, particularly the Law School and the College of Commerce. It was the rapid expansion of the professional schools that led to the development of ethnic and religious diversity at DePaul. As noted above, the emphasis on professional education at DePaul also led to a skewed distribution of men and women students: a pattern of gender specialization rather than the integration implied by the term coeducation.

Like the urban environment it served, DePaul had become a highly differentiated institution by the 1930's. There was no uniform "culture of aspiration." Each of the various colleges and professional schools was characterized by a distinctively different mix of students, at least as defined by ethnicity, religious background and gender. As a university largely defined by professional education, it was an institution serving disparate groups of students. It was where men and women from across Chicago came to study, but as in other aspects of urban life they appear to have pursued their respective aspirations quite separately. And in the process they helped to forge a peculiar type of institution: the differentiated, professionally geared urban, church-related university. And this is the legacy of a significant number of American urban institutions today.

NOTES

[1] David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 68 and 77-78. For background information on the urban Catholic universities, see Andrew M. Greeley, *From Back-water to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), chap. 1; for a very general discussion of issues in Catholic higher education, some of them pretaining to urban institutions, see Paul C. Reinert, S.J., *The Urban Catholic University* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1970), passim.

[2] Ibid., "Introduction."

[3] The best overview of the early years of St. Vincent's College can be found in Lester Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions Upon the Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University Chicago and DePaul University" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), chap. 6. Goodchild also provides a description of the founding of St. Ignatius College in chapter 5.

[4] For discussion of the controversy surrounding the decision to relocate St. Ignatius, and the nature of competition between colleges in this period, even institutions sponsored by the same church, see Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," 242-45.

[5] For discussion of this source, see Philip Gleason, "Immigration and American Catholic Higher Education," in *American Education and the European Immigrant, 1840-1940*, ed. Bernard J. Weiss (Urbana,

Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 163-64. Also see the article by Bernard J. Weiss in the same volume, "Duquesne University: A Case Study of the Catholic University and the Urban Ethnic, 1878-1928," 176-188.

[6] For data on the student bodies of the Catholic institutions in the Immigration Commission report, see Gleason, "Immigration and American Catholic Higher Education," 172.

[7] Data on the student body at St. Ignatius is included in the table provided by Gleason, noted above.

[8] As this is not strictly a random sample, it is inappropriate to apply the normal rules of inferential statistics in this case. However, if the rules of random selection were assumed applicable (with a variance of .5), this sample would yield a margin of error only a little better than the .08 level, with a 95% confidence interval, because of the large finite population correction factor in this case (a function of the population and sample sizes). For discussion of this, see Steven K. Thompson, *Sampling* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1992), 32-34; and Miriam Schapiro Grosof and Hyman Sardy, *A Research Primer for the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Academic Press, 1985), 182-185. Nevertheless, comparing some known population parameters, the sample appears to match the general shape of enrollments across the institution during this early period. As seen in the table below, the Academy and Commercial shares of the total sample are somewhat lower than in the actual population, partly because of the larger group of collegiate students in the sample, but similarly sized groups have been selected in each category.

ENROLLMENTS IN VARIOUS CURRICULA,
EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTALS,
ST. VINCENT'S COLLEGE, 1898-1908

	Academy	Commercial	Collegiate	Other*
Population	35%	33.5%	12.5%	19%
Sample	27%	28%	23%	22%

Population figures are calculated from data provided in Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980," 229.

*"Other" enrollments are a combination of "special" or prepatory students taking prerequisite courses, or engineering students enrolled in programs established in 1907. Perhaps because of the comparatively large group of students from the 1907-1908 school year in the sample (24), this category is a little larger than observed in the population figures.

[9] On this point, see Charles Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 42-43; and Eileen M. McMahon, *What Parish are You From? A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 18.

[10] Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics*, 43-45. For population figures, see the tables on p. 236.

[11] For a discussion of the occupations and earnings of industrial workers in Chicago at this time, see Eric L. Hirsch, *Urban Revolt: Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth Century Chicago Labor Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 89. On Irish and German immigrants in Chicago and other major cities, see Nora Faires, "Occupational Patterns of German Americans in Nineteenth Century Cities" in *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Hartmut Keil and John Jentz (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 37-51. For a discussion of the Lincoln Park neighborhood, see Christaine Harzig, "Chicago's German North Side, 1880-1900: The Structure of

a Guilded Age Ethnic Neighborhood" in the same volume, pp. 127-144. Also see Dominic A. Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), chap. 1.

[12] For a discussion of these sources and their findings, see David John Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), chap. 3.

[13] For statistics on the occupational structure of Chicago in this period, see Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 149. On the occupational status of Catholic immigrants, see Harold J. Abramson, *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), 38.

[14] For discussion of differences in household income and expenditure patterns in this period, see John Modell, "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation and Family Income Strategies in Late Nineteenth Century America," in *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America*, eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 206-240. On parental age as a focal point, see Peter Uhlenberg, "Changing Configurations of the Life Course," in *Transitions: The Family and Life Course in Historical Perspective*, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 65-98.

[15] Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 116; U.S. Census Bureau, Population: 1900. *Twelfth Census of the United States*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 739.

[16] The predominance of older or first-born children is partly a statistical artifact, since nearly 20% of the families had one or two male children. Still, the numbers of students with these positions in the birth order in this sample (nearly 70%) is far larger than one would expect if male students were selected randomly from these households. The latter effect also may be simply a statistical artifact, because only younger children could have older siblings working. But it also suggests that for some households additional sources of income may have augmented the primary breadwinner. Sending older children to work was a common strategy among immigrants at this time, even those who owned their homes. For discussion of this point with data from Chicago, see Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 106-114. For a more general discussion of household income strategies and the tendency of immigrant families to support the school enrollment of younger children with the wages of older working children, see Modell, "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation and Family Income Strategies in Late Nineteenth Century America," passim. On the question of birth order as a factor in school enrollment at this time, see John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany, N.Y.: S.U.N.Y. Press, 1991), 59-60.

[17] James Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1833-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 57.

[18] The principal caveat is that the census data for these students were collected in 1900, while most of the students attended St. Vincent's at an earlier or later date. Altogether, 51 sample students attended between the fall of 1898 and the spring of 1900, and 109 between the fall of 1901 and the spring of 1908. Fewer than a dozen students in the sample attended during the fall of 1900. Even so, a student's year of attendance does not appear to have been related to whether the student's household was close to the school. Thus, it does not seem that students living far from the school in 1900 had lived closer when they actually attended. Several students in 1900, for instance, lived in wards located in other parts of the city. Given this, the data on the residential location of students' families seem reasonably reliable.

[19] Historians have noted the often intense ethnic rivalries that divided the Catholic Church in these years, and particular schools were often identified with one ethnic group or another. See Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics*, chaps. 2 and 4; and Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority*, chap. 3.

[20] Interestingly, an analysis of the names of the first group of students at St. Vincent's in 1898, reveals 80% with Irish or English names, and only 16% with German names (61 out of 70 names were identifiable).

By 1903 the number with Irish and English names had fallen to 65%, and those with German names had increased to 27%, much closer to the proportions reported in the sample described above (197 out of 211 names identified). This lends credence to the idea that St. Vincent's was considered an Irish institution, at least at the beginning.

[21] Sanders describes the proliferation of Catholic educational institutions in these years. See *The Education of an Urban Minority*, chaps. 3 and 4.

[22] On awards and other forms of recognition, see, for instance, *The Bulletin of St. Vincent's College, 1900-1901* (Chicago: St. Vincent's College, 1901), 15-20. On the question of athletics, the 1908 bulletin offered that "with a view to encourage physical training as an inestimable aid to the intellectual and moral development of the students, the faculty allows and approves of a reasonable interest in athletics." *The Bulletin of DePaul University, 1908-1909* (Chicago: St. Vincent's College, 1908), 30.

[23] At the turn of the century many Catholic educators saw collegiate education as similar or parallel to seminary education for the priesthood. See the discussion of this in Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), Introduction. For a discussion of early plans by Vincentians to make St. Vincent's into a seminary, see Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," 218-22.

[24] Unfortunately, there is no single comprehensive published source on the development of DePaul and Loyola in this period. For useful overviews, see Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," chaps. 7, 9, 10 and 11; and Sandra Averitt Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago: 1891-1939" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University Chicago, 1993), chap. 2.

[25] Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chap. 4.

[26] For an overview of enrollments in this period, see Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," 271. Also see Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," 86.

[27] For discussion of the growth of DePaul in the twenties, see Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," 86-87.

[28] For an account of the growth of Loyola's various divisions, see Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," chaps. 9 and 10. Also see Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," chap. 2.

[29] See Gleason, Contending with Modernity, 81-85 and 95-102; and Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chaps. 3 and 4.

[30] On the early years of DePaul's College of Law, see Lester Goodchild, "The College of Law's First Thirty Years," *DePaul University Magazine* (Summer 1987): 14-30. On the College of Commerce, see Lester Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business: From the Founding of the College of Commerce to the Present," *DePaul Diamond Jubilee Publication*, 1988, 6-16.

[31] These points are discussed in Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," chaps. 9 and 10. Also see Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," chap. 2.

[32] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 178; Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," 397.

[33] The information for the analysis which follows is drawn from two yearbooks: *The DePaulian, 1925* (Chicago: DePaul University, 1925); passim, and *The DePaulian, 1930* (Chicago: DePaul University, 1930), passim. Names were located in at least one of two dictionaries: Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges,

A Dictionary of Surnames (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and H. Amanda Robb and Andrew Chesler, *Encyclopedia of American Family Names: The Definitive Guide to the 5,000 Most Common Surnames in the U.S.* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995). In 1930 54% of the 149 seniors had English or Irish names, while 28% had German or Jewish names. Eight percent had Polish or Italian names (six students each). The 14 remaining individuals represented a variety of groups, including several Chinese students.

[34] Andrew Greeley has noted the historic predominance of the Irish in American Catholic higher education. See Andrew M. Greeley, *The Changing Catholic College* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967), 34-35. On the relatively low educational attainment levels among Italian and Polish immigrant families, see Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure Among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American City, 1880-1935* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 118-121.

[35] This analysis is based on names linked to photographs in each yearbook; thus it should not be considered a scientific survey of the student body. There also are names that cannot be identified with the dictionaries used for this study, although the numbers are not great. In 1930, for instance, only the names of five seniors could not be identified, out of a total of 153. For the freshmen the numbers were somewhat higher: 69 out of 466 could not be identified with an ethnic group (15%). While the patterns identified with these data can be revealing, in that case, particular numbers should not be taken as accurate counts of students enrolled. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the students pictured in yearbooks during this period were African American.

[36] Beginning in 1931, data on the religious affiliation of DePaul students can be found in "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," DePaul University Archives (DPUA). These data provide a detailed profile of the religious affiliation of the university's student body, including those in the various Protestant denominations, Orthodox Catholics, and a number of other churches and denominations. Jewish students were treated as a single group.

[37] On the concern that many educators felt about Jewish students in this period, see Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chap. 7. For the observation that students indicating no religious preference were largely Jewish, see p. 151. For a detailed discussion of Jewish students at one institution in this period, Columbia University, and efforts to exclude them, see Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), chap. 7. Apparently, large numbers of Jewish students enrolled in law schools elsewhere too. On p. 172 Wechsler quotes one observer remarking that "anyone entering Kent Hall at noon might suppose it almost entirely Jewish." There is no evidence of efforts by DePaul administrators to limit or in any way discourage Jewish enrollments in any of its schools.

[38] Weiss, "Duquesne University: A Case Study of the Catholic University and the Urban Ethnic, 1878-1928," 1845; Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 179; Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chap. 4. It is not clear that many non-Catholics enrolled at DePaul because of exclusionary policies at other institutions. Wechsler notes, for instance, that Jewish students did not suffer explicit exclusion at the University of Chicago until the thirties, and in fact their numbers doubled at that Southside institution between 1920 and 1932. He does state that discriminatory policies appear to have existed after 1932, limiting Jewish students to the proportion of Jews in the city population, but this was well after the pattern of Jewish enrollment had been established at DePaul. Moreover, most discriminatory policies existed at the undergraduate level, in the liberal arts colleges, and the vast majority of DePaul's Jewish students were enrolled in law and commerce. See *The Qualified Student*, 220-221 and 230.

[39] The results of this survey, but not the individual level data themselves, are available in "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1937-38 File, DPUA. On changes in the labor force, see Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 149.

[40] Like other institutional data from this period, the results of this survey can be found in "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1938-39 File, DPUA.

[41] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 97100.

[42] The survey about place of residence is located in "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1935-36 File, DPUA.

[43] On the development of these areas of Chicago and Irish settlement patterns, see McMahon, *What Parish are You From?*, chap. 14; also see Irving Cutler, *Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent*, 3rd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing, 1982), 50-52.

[44] The survey of commerce students place of residence "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," 1936-37 File, DPUA.

[45] On the rise of collegiate schools of business in this period, see Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chap. 3.

[46] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 99. On women at Loyola, see Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," chap. 5.

[47] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 179. For an example of Catholic views on this topic at the time, written by an influential figure in Catholic education, see Thomas Edward Shields, *The Education of Our Girls* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1907), passim.

[48] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 99; Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Mid west," 26-68; and Cook, "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," 84-86.

[49] These figures can be found in Goodchild, "Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest," 268. Unfortunately, there appears to be no record of policy discussions that may have occurred at DePaul over the issue of coeducation.

[50] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, chap. 4.

[51] Data on the gender of DePaul students for various years and divisions of the university can be found in "Academic Enrollment, Statistics Comparative and Summary, 1898-1939/40," DPUA.

[52] For figures on female enrollments nationally, see Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 7.

[53] Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, 124.

[54] Gleason notes that women students attended Marquette, Boston College and other institutions to study education. See *Contending with Modernity*, chap. 4. Cook observes that large numbers of women came to study social work and education at Loyola. See "The Origins and Development of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago," chap. 5.

[55] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 99 and 204.

[56] Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration*, chap. 4.

In the President's Opinion: Robert Hutchins and the University of Chicago History Department

PHILO A. HUTCHESON[1]

Robert Maynard Hutchins, president and then chancellor of the University of Chicago from 1929 to 1951, has been the subject of many biographies. His commitment to general education has specifically attracted scholarly attention, especially since the University of Chicago was such a preeminent research institution during his presidency. Yet how his educational experiences led to his commitment are not fully explored in the examinations of his presidency. The conflicts of his curricular goals and those of the faculty, particularly the history department faculty, are the focus of this article in the context of how Hutchins developed and then attempted to use his knowledge. The consequences of those attempts illuminate the nature of presidential power at a research university.

The literature on college and university presidents focuses on their leadership characteristics within the institution, with special attention to their work with finances, administration, students, and faculty. An underlying assumption of many studies of presidential leadership is that as leaders, they have some ability to change the institution. Yet the literature offers little attention to the question of how presidents' formal and informal educational experiences affect their actions toward their faculties.[2] While Mary Ann Dzuback, biographer of Robert Maynard Hutchins, and other biographers of presidents suggest such attention, the issue is not yet fully explicated.[3] This study of Robert Hutchins and the faculty of the University of Chicago history department examines Hutchins' strong sentiments about curriculum, the educational experiences that had a substantial effect on his views, and his interaction with the history department. The questions of his informal as well as his formal educational experiences while president are central to the analysis of Hutchins' relationship with the University of Chicago faculty.

In the opinion of the president, the faculty had certain responsibilities. In view of the bitter relationship between Hutchins and many Chicago faculty members by the end of his presidency, this work illustrates consequences of presidential opinion, including its extent and limits. Hence this discussion focuses on curriculum issues,

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initially addressing how Hutchins' conceptions of curriculum compared and contrasted with the curricular conceptions of the history department faculty. This article also addresses to some extent the differing curricular conceptions within the faculty of the University of Chicago. The discussion is based on the assumption that principles actually matter. The assumption is rather safe, at least in this case, for as Professor William Hutchinson of Chicago's history department noted, President Hutchins provoked "seemingly endless thrashing-over of matters assumed to be fundamental."[4]

The University of Chicago had a strong general education commitment and was also a research university in the 1920s and 1930s. Even before Hutchins' arrival in 1929, the University faculty had extensively discussed general education. By 1930, the faculty had adopted the New Plan, the University's general education curriculum, the result of the faculty consideration of general education issues.[5] Hutchins himself earned a well-deserved reputation as an advocate of general education, and the University of Chicago faculty, including the history department, had a well-deserved reputation as advocates of *Wissenschaft*, the German ideal of research which found some expression in United States higher education. Thus the following examination of Hutchins and the University of Chicago history department offers extended consideration of conceptions of general education and *Wissenschaft*.

On the one hand, there is an important difference between general education and *Wissenschaft* as to the methods for the search for truth. General education, as defined by Hutchins, focuses on truth through knowledge of fundamental principles. In contrast, *Wissenschaft* focuses on "the collective activity of scholars in obtaining, interpreting, and ordering" of knowledge. Broadly translated, *Wissenschaft* means scholarship and includes the natural and physical sciences as well as the humanities and social sciences.[6] In the United States, the institutional setting for such inquiry exists in the graduate departments at research universities, such as the University of Chicago. As Peter Novick argues, members of the University of Chicago history department had direct and acknowledged links to *Wissenschaft*, although they did not use the term itself.[7]

On the other hand, general education and *Wissenschaft* share some similarity in their arguments about the nature of truth. For example, Robert Maynard Hutchins stated, "I yield to no one in my admiration for and belief in the accumulation of data, the collection of facts, and the advance of the empirical sciences. These taken together constitute one of the grand activities of modern times. It must be continued and encouraged. I wish merely to point out that this activity must be conducted in such a way as not to confuse or prevent that intellectual training and development which in my view are education."[8]

In Hutchins' terms, truth existed in the empirical sciences, but did constitute a form of education. For Wilhelm von Humboldt, founder of the University of Berlin, the institution at the organizational core of the German research ethos and hence *Wissenschaft*, education indeed required more than empirical investigation. He noted that if one imagines that [knowledge] need not be creatively sought in the depths of human spirit but can be assembled extensively by collecting and classifying facts, everything is irrevocably and forever lost, lost for learning which soon vanishes so far out of the picture that it even leaves language behind like an empty pod.[9] For both of those educational leaders, the mere collection of facts did not represent an adequate conception of education.

> History was an important part of both general education for Hutchins and *Wissenschaft* for Humboldt. Hutchins suggested that college students should study history, geography, literature, science, music, and art, but the emphasis shifts from learning the techniques of communication [as taught in earlier schooling] to obtaining familiarity with the principal views of the world that men have developed and the leading ideas that have animated mankind.[10]

He identified history as one of the fundamental areas of general education, an area which addressed the "leading ideas" of humanity. Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote that philosophical, mathematical, philological, and historical study were the only disciplines "that can raise knowledge of particular subjects to *Wissenschaft*."[11] One can see here the potential for agreement with Hutchins' position. Yet there was a particularistic nature to the concept of *Wissenschaft* among United States historians. In contrast to Humboldt's view, Peter Novick's examination of the professionalization of the study of history provides the framework for this article's discussion of *Wissenschaft*. Novick indicates that at the end of the 1800s and in the first few decades of the 1900s, United States historians saw *Wissenschaft* not as a body of knowledge or as scholarship, but rather incorrectly as being empiricism. Those historians saw their professional work as the pursuit of objective, scientific facts. Nor were they interested in any identification with history as part of literature or art.[12] Thus the discussion of *Wissenschaft* in this article will focus on United States historians' early misinterpretation of the concept, as well as their subsequent re-interpretations.

The history department provides an appropriate setting for the examination of the complex relationship between Hutchins and the faculty at the University of Chicago because the department incorporated—in one manifestation or another—conceptions of both general education and *Wissenschaft*. It was also one of the University's stronger departments, with well-recognized scholars as well as influence on campus.[13] Several members of the department were active in the American Historical Association and served as presidents of the organization.[14] As for campus influence, history professor William Dodd was a key figure in the election of Hutchins to Chicago's presidency.[15] Finally, two biographers of Hutchins, Mary Ann Dzuback and William McNeill, concur that he was especially argumentative about the role of the history department, although he took issues with several departments in the humanities and social sciences.[16] Disagreements between Hutchins and the history department (or any of its members) occurred between the president and a relatively powerful department.

Hutchins was clearly unequivocal about the importance of history, but only as part of a general education curriculum. He was equally unequivocal about problems of *Wissenschaft*, in empirical terms and as expressed in the profession of history.

In a 1931 speech at Berea College, Hutchins compared Sir Francis Bacon's utopia of New Atlantis, where the "management of their affairs,... [was] committed to those whose sole task it was to find out and apply new facts," to the current state of affairs in the United States. He told his audience that while this empirical utopia of necessary facts was in place, all around them poverty and corrupt governments also existed. He added that "the facts in any course I ever saw that were essential to understanding the ideas in the field could have been written on two sides of a sheet of paper."[17] In Hutchins' view, empiricism was inadequate in the classroom as well as in society.

His concern about the limits of empiricism suggested that *Wissenschaft*, as interpreted in the United States, was the problem. His argument specifically included history:

> As the progress of the scientific method has discredited the methods of history, philosophy, and art, so the specialism essential to science has discredited a generalized approach to history, philosophy, art, and all other subjects, including science itself.[18]

Both the scientific method and specialism, two characteristics of *Wissenschaft*, were problematic for Hutchins. He was even more concerned about the effects of specialization in history:

> Now, if the professor of American history gets sick, the professor of English history cannot take his work. And in a university, if the professor of American history from 1860 to 1864 gets sick, the professor of American history from 1865 to 1870 cannot take his work.[19]

Hutchins defined general education, moreover, in terms of principles, not in terms of disciplines. Despite his preference for the study of history, he would not allow it to be presented as a separate general education course controlled by the history department. In 1935 the chair of the history department wrote to Hutchins to express the department's concern about the lack of history in the humanities and social sciences survey courses. Hutchins responded, in his brusque way, "I am not enthusiastic about the departmental courses in the College and believe there is less reason for restoring them in History than in many other fields." As he saw it, the humanities survey course was "very largely" historical, and he assumed that some of the social science survey course was also historical.[20] Clearly Hutchins' perception of history as a matter of understanding general principles left little room for departmental concern about disciplinary representation.

There appear to be several reasons for Hutchins' views and decisions. Some result from his understanding of education, others from the influence of his principal advisor, Mortimer Adler. The following discussion illustrates the influence of both.

His comments in *Education for Freedom* (1943), an autobiographical statement, are illustrative of his distaste for scientific method:

> After I had blown up all the retorts in the chemistry laboratory doing the Marsh test for arsenic, the chemistry teacher was glad to give me a passing grade and let me go.[21]

Nor did he have much regard for the quality of the undergraduate education he had received:

> I see now that my formal education began in the Law School [at the age of 21].... It is sad but true that the only place where the student is taught to read, write, and speak is the law school.[22]

Yet he described even the law education he praised as "thoroughly Baconian." While the social scientists who came to teach at the law school "showed [the law professors] the masses of social, political, economic, and psychological data which lay hidden in the cases," Hutchins believed that the solution to the problem of masses of data lay in "rational analysis, which is logically prior to the empirical operations involved."[23]

Hutchins' primary advisor on curriculum matters was Mortimer Adler. They met while Hutchins was at Yale Law School, prior to his presidency at Chicago, and their mutual interests regarding the nature of argument and evidence led to an enduring and deep comradeship. Hutchins and Adler looked for principles first, then evidence; McNeill suggests that Adler constructed his arguments solely within the framework of Thomist philosophy. Within that point of view, proponents of other curricular or philosophical approaches had no opportunity for rebuttal.[24] Adler had his own particularistic, and negative, understanding of *Wissenschaft*.[25] Adler wrote in his autobiography that his language examination for the doctorate was absurdly simple. More important, his empirical dissertation was simply the product of patterns he had deduced from reading other dissertations, and it took him a mere twenty hours to write it on the typewriter. At the defense, he "diverted" the committee to a discussion of "pleasure and displeasure in the aesthetic experience."[26] Adler has claimed no appreciation for empirical social sciences, declaring, "Current research programmes [sic] in the social sciences are misdirected and methodologically ill-advised because of erroneous conceptions of the nature of science which comprise the 'raw empiricism' characteristic of contemporary social science." Hutchins agreed with Adler's assessment, saying that he had "the right dope on the social sciences."[27]

Hutchins was once a college teacher in the social sciences, and that experience prior to his friendship with Adler taught him that students needed to examine values, rather than facts. In a speech he delivered twice, he offered a telling comment about *his* experience in teaching college-level social sciences, stating that:

> shortly after graduation I attempted to teach a class of college freshmen a course called Introduction to the Social Sciences. There were many aspects of the social sciences to which I couldn't introduce them because they wouldn't let me.[28]

Those aspects were specifically questions of value, such as whether military expenditures were necessary or if the United States political party system were weak.[29] He often spoke of his admiration for good teachers, and often used the word "we" when referring to teachers (including the faculty of the University of Chicago).[30] Yet he was also skeptical of their ability, given their education, to overcome the obstacles they faced. In his speech on teaching social sciences, he also remarked, "In general Santayana's description of the pupil-teacher relationship was true of us: it was that of the cow and the milkmaid; mutual contributions may pass between them, but not conversation."[31]

Hutchins insisted on his particular interpretation of teaching as well as faculty conceptions of general education and *Wissenschaft*. At the January, 1934, trustees' dinner for the University of Chicago faculty, he said to the faculty,

> From Francis Bacon on, many people have advised [professors] that [science] consists merely in accumulating data. Some of them have taken this advice seriously and have concluded that their scientific attainments would be measured by the number of items of fact which they have written on cards. I know some of them have done it; I have done it myself.[32]

While Hutchins relied on Adler to some degree for his understanding of education, he also read, and concluded, a great deal on his own. His understanding of general education and *Wissenschaft* resulted from particular experiences and education, and by the early 1930s he was clearly interested in shaping the history department according to his view.[33]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HISTORY DEPARTMENT AND CURRICULAR ISSUES

History professors at the University of Chicago had varying ideas about the undergraduate and graduate curricula. At both levels they worried about issues of principles, synthesis of facts, and objectivity.

In the early 1930s the instructor for the New Plan humanities survey course was Ferdinand Schevill, who had earned his Ph.D. in history at the University of Freiburg. Schevill emphasized the arts and literature of Western civilization as well as its history.[34] Thus, not surprisingly, in 1930, history professor William Hutchinson wrote in his diary that he wondered if the recent re-organization of general education would cause the University to drop his general United States history courses.[35] By the spring of 1931, the department faculty had agreed—in a meeting that took an entire morning—that United States, rather than European history, was "a proper part of a general education."[36] Although the department agreed that United States history should be a general education topic, it had taken considerable discussion to reach that conclusion.

Nor was the department faculty at all sure what sort of *Wissenschaft* history represented, for at the same 1931 meeting the professors agreed upon the contents of the history major in the Humanities Division.[37] Despite national sentiment among historians that history was a science of objective methodology, the University of Chicago history department identified its work with both the social sciences and the humanities.

When historians with national reputations objected to conceptions of objectivity, members of the department differed in their responses. Carl Becker and Charles Beard, in their respective 1931 and 1933 presidential addresses to the American Historical Association, argued that historians were influenced by their ideologies, despite any claims to objectivity.[38] Dodd fretted that Becker had potentially led junior professors "to a certain feeling of futility," while Hutchinson, in contrast, noted in his diary that Beard had delivered a "pathbreaking" address.[39]

Departmental uncertainty about the role of history, particularly in regard to general education, took another turn in 1933, when the history faculty voted to attach itself solely to the Social Sciences Division. At the same time, the department withdrew its general United States history courses from the general education program, re-developing them as upper-level courses.[40] History thus identified itself with the social sciences and with the increased specialization of upper-level courses.

The issue of facts and general education for history arose three times in the middle of the 1930s. In two instances the issue arose inside the department, and in the third it came from the outside.

In the spring of 1933, Hutchins appointed a University committee to review history courses and to coordinate those offerings. In June, 1993, the committee chair, history professor Avery Craven, sent a statement of objective about the committee, indicating that history provided "a way of ordering and thereby making intelligible certain bodies of facts."[41] Craven's statement reinforced the idea that history at the University of Chicago focused on questions of fact.

In early 1934, the chair of the department, Bernadotte Schmitt, sent a memorandum to several University professors and administrators, including President Hutchins. He stated, "the undergraduate courses (200's) are essentially factual. The graduate courses (300's) tend to be factual."[42] Schmitt also wrote,

> The Department does not offer any courses fundamentally interpretative in character and does not attempt to integrate the various aspects of history. We very largely ignore the history of ideas.[43]

Hutchins thus had a direct statement from the chair of the history department that seemingly confirmed the teaching of facts in history.

However, the history faculty forced Schmitt to write a letter to those outside the department acknowledging that his statement did not accurately reflect the department's courses or teaching. As William Hutchinson noted in his retrospective of the department, "thereafter... most of the faculty did seek to subordinate factual data and underline interpretations in their teaching and question-making." To some degree, Schmitt's assessment of the emphasis on facts was accurate. As Hutchinson saw the history professors' responses, they opposed the memorandum because of interdepartmental personality clashes, concern about Hutchins' reforms, and most of all, the attack on the graduate-level courses.[44] In view of the importance of conducting specialized historical research at the graduate level (noted in the discussion of *Wissenschaft*), Professor Schmitt's attack was indeed a serious one for the department. Thus, a genuine difference over methodology and approach existed among historians at Chicago, but outsiders also got involved in this internal (and healthy) controversy.

In May 1934, Robert S. Crane, a member of the English department and of the committee on history (and who had received Schmitt's memorandum), issued a memorandum, "The Organization of History in a University." Crane argued that historians erred in venturing beyond examinations of the political and social nature of human behavior into such areas as intellectual history. He even suggested that history need not be a department at a university. Crane's objections to historical study were not about the issue of specialized study per se, but to the sort of specialized study and synthesis that Ferdinand Schevill offered in the New Plan humanities survey course, which was antithetical to the sort of textual analysis that Crane preferred. Professor Crane's objections to history centered on its failure to recognize how historians constructed their arguments and conclusions. Crane was especially enamored of the textual analysis and criticism espoused by Richard McKeon, dean of the Humanities Division and thus in a central position to influence curricular decisions. McKeon focused on what thinkers, caught in their respective modes of discourse, had, as it were, been compelled to conclude.[45] Schevill did not have, however, the history department's support, and his successor, Arthur Scott, simply persevered in Schevill's footsteps without developing a response to Crane.[46] The response of other history professors focused on the meaning of historical research and interpretation and evidenced no interest in the Humanities survey course.

An annotated copy of Crane's statement is in William Hutchinson's papers. Hutchinson responded to criticisms of historians' use of facts by noting that without an historian's synthesis of evidence, the instruction of history "resolves itself into a mere recitation of facts."[47] Hutchinson, who had taught general education courses in history, expected students to go beyond simple empiricism.

Although Professor Scott did not reply to Crane, the history department responded publicly to Crane's memorandum. The history faculty members disagreed with Crane's assertion that historical investigation was an art; to them it was specifically "a science." They also argued that "there are valid reasons for the existence of departments" even though "certain specialized courses [in such areas as economics or politics] . . . can be taught to equal or perhaps greater advantage in other departments."[48] Most telling in terms of the role of the scientific method in history, the faculty members declared,

> Specialization indeed there must always be, for the determination of details and of particular courses of development; but the aim of all specialization on the part of professional historians is and must be to build toward general synthesis, toward a synthesis that will embrace in its scope the entire career, experiences, and achievements of man considered as a social being.[49]

Novick indicates that by 1934 historians were beginning to move from a simple empirical stance to suggestions of synthesis.[50] The University of Chicago history professors, as a department, reflected that movement in their statement on the nature of the department, although facts were still paramount.

Hutchinson's personal view of historians and synthesis as noted in his response to Beard's address did not, however, alter his negative evaluation of the new general education plan at Chicago. In January of 1935, he spoke to the University's Curriculum Committee (whose membership included Dean Robert Redfield, one of Hutchins' key advisors), making clear that "there have been too many official commendations of the New Plan, which are contradicted both by my own experience and by student opinion." While he knew that he might have been "too blunt," he felt that it was necessary to be candid.[51]

There is only limited evidence of direct communication about the nature of general education between Hutchins and the history department, in contrast to the lively exchanges on the topic between Hutchins and Harry Gideonse.[52] In fact, Hutchinson's diary, a very detailed set of comments which even notes Chicago Cub losses in the World Series, does not even mention the publication of *The Higher Learning in America*, a book which drew national attention to the issue of general education.[53] However limited the direct communication between Hutchins and the history department (whether in the form of memoranda or in the lack of discussion of Hutchins' book), the few instances of such communication reflect the contrasting characteristics of general education and *Wissenschaft*.

In 1937 history professor Arthur Scott sent a long description of the humanities survey course to Hutchins. The course, as Scott noted in a cover memorandum to

Hutchins, emphasized using the classics to develop standards in order to judge quality. The description, distributed to students in the course, questioned whether there was sufficient evidence for historical judgment (among other disciplines), and stated that history could not provide judgment for artistic value. Hutchins responded to Scott that he agreed completely with the course description.[54]

Hutchins had one opportunity to evaluate directly the department's graduation requirements, when in 1936 the chair, Bernadotte Schmitt, sent him a copy of the faculty's proposed revision of those requirements. Hutchins challenged the department, on his terms:

> It seems to me to mark definite progress. Perhaps the Department will wish to go on to consider what the historian should know without regard to the particular period in which he eventually works and what he should know in that particular period. It may be that the answers to these two questions are different and that the attempt to answer them would lead to some modification in the course of study.[55]

There is no evidence that the department responded to the challenge of what the historian should know, based on what Hutchins knew.

Members of the history department had differing views about methodology and the search for truth in the discipline. Their views of general education were matters of confusion as evidenced by identification with the two divisions, humanities and social sciences. They expressed internal disagreement when Professor Schmitt sent his memorandum; they also disagreed with others' views of history—for example, when Professor Crane issued his report. In the case of Hutchinson's comments about the New Plan and Scott's correspondence with Hutchins, history professors evidenced disagreement or agreement with Hutchins. Nevertheless, virtually all members apparently identified with a scientific method. The department's basic, albeit indirect, message to the deans and to Hutchins suggested some support for general education but greater appreciation for *Wissenschaft*. Ironically, the history professors' preference for specialized scholarship caused them to lose support for history's place in the University, and specifically in the general education plan, not because of Hutchins but because of other professors with differing views of the uses of history.

THE UNIVERSITY BATTLES OVER HISTORY AND GENERAL EDUCATION

Although the apparent fights about history's place in the general education system at the University of Chicago would seem to have taken place between President Hutchins, or one of his primary advisors, and the members of the history faculty, in fact much of the fight was between history professors and other faculty members who were not particularly adherents to the Hutchins-Adler conception of general education.

Professor Crane and Dean McKeon were instrumental in the general education decisions of the late 1930s and early 1940s, and they and their supporters succeeded in excluding history from the revised general education plan approved in 1942.[56] If the state of Illinois had not required the study of United States history, then the revised general education plan might have omitted history completely, but as a result of the state requirement, students had to take a course that focused on selected public policy debates. Nevertheless, the history professors had little interest in sweeping analyses of Western civilization, whether grounded in Schevill's or McKeon's conceptions, and they offered no concerted effort to respond to the criticisms from Crane and McKeon.[57]

Crane and McKeon were unable, however, to keep history out of the general education plan for long. By the mid-1940s history's omission became a rallying point for the opposition to the curriculum, and in 1946 the University Council voted to include a history of Western civilization course in the general education requirements.[58] The intensity of the debate in the words of William McNeill, chair of the history department at the time, was extraordinary:

> The meeting of the College faculty where the compromise decision was eventually reached lasted through three afternoon and evening sessions on successive days. Speeches were lengthy, abstract, and sometimes passionate. I have never experienced such a torrent of words about matters of concern to me. No real meetings of minds resulted, but the experience was certainly well calculated to awaken historians from dogmatic slumber induced by traditional departmentalized training.[59]

Thus professors such as Richard McKeon and Crane were the ones to provoke the history department faculty into re-consideration of the meaning and interpretations of their discipline, not Hutchins. Yet even in this case, McNeill acknowledges that at most the history professors became conscious of habits of mind and that the rhetoric of the debate on both sides sometimes verged on the absurd.[60] The sound and the fury of the debate appeared to have little impact on historians at the University of Chicago, who continued to practice the study of history as it had developed in Germany and then slowly in the United States, combining empiricism with interpretations of the past. Even the opposition of fellow faculty members to the existence of the history department, as expressed in Ronald Crane's 1934 memorandum, did not affect the history faculty.

CONCLUSION

Hutchins' challenge to the history department ultimately seemed to have little effect in an area of tremendous personal concern, the curriculum. What then were Hutchins' effects on the history department?

There were moments when the relationship between President Hutchins and the history department was positive. For example, William Dodd helped secure direct departmental support from wealthy Chicago families, support which apparently alleviated pressures on the University of Chicago budget. William Hutchinson's 1929 salary was doubled by the McCormick family members who supported Hutchinson's research on the family's accomplishments.[61] Hutchinson later received recognition from alumni for his teaching excellence, and at the end of the 1930s President Hutchins gave him a check for $1,000 for his teaching excellence (the money apparently received from a donor). Since Hutchins had chosen to freeze faculty salaries in response to the economic pressures of the Great Depression, salary increases were a definite sign of support.[62] In 1936 Hutchins assured Bernadotte Schmitt that he would promote William Hutchinson when economic conditions allowed.[63] Yet Hutchins may have been most interested in historians such as Arthur Scott, who evidenced little interest in facts, or John Nef, with whom Hutchins formed a friendship in his later years at the University. Nef was an economics historian who disdained the narrowness and philistinism of his colleagues in economics and history, having become more interested in morals and religion during World War II.[64]

Hutchins did not always provide assurance of more support for members of the history department. In 1937, history professor Herrlee Creel sent a twelve-page request for additional funding for Chinese studies; Hutchins refused to fund the request. While Hutchins offered no reason for refusing support, Creel's request included reviews of his work, one of which stated that his research for *Birth of China* was "scientifically carried out."[65]

Hutchins assumed a particular responsibility for judgments in the social sciences and humanities; William McNeill argues that Hutchins was clearly capable of recognizing young scholars with a gift for words, and in the fields of learning where words prevailed, he thought it his right and duty to act on his personal impression and judgments.[66] Mary Ann Dzuback indicates the extent to which Hutchins acted on his antipathy to the history department:

> Denying the integrity of the department's assessment of curricular needs, Hutchins complained that the faculty overly stressed fields and periods rather than excellent scholarship. He granted the department visiting or temporary, in lieu of tenurable appointments or, by contrast, pressured members to accept the administration's preferences.[67]

Hutchins impeded the department's development apparently both because of what he saw as curricular weaknesses and poor faculty appointments. In 1934 he told the chair that staffing had remained fairly stable (a fact sustained by Hutchinson's evaluation twenty years later), but that the quality of the staffing was questionable. Curiously, Hutchinson echoed that assessment in his history of the history department, suggesting that the self-satisfied faculty did not experiment as much as it should have in the 1930s.[68] Dzuback documents the several disagreements that the department had with Hutchins regarding the appointment and promotion of professors throughout his presidency, yet also notes that the department had several important scholars.[69] Whatever the accuracy of those assessments of faculty quality, it is clear that Hutchins' lack of commitment to the history department restricted its ability to provide education as it saw best, as its chairs and members often felt as if they were on the defensive, restricted by presidential opinion.

Much of the direct attack in terms of curriculum occurred between the department and other faculty members, rather than between the department and Hutchins. Yet that lack of direct engagement in such matters (despite his public reputation for addressing curricular issues) characterized Hutchins. McNeill notes that Hutchins never disagreed with Adler in public, thus allowing Adler considerable apparent influence at Chicago and with Hutchins. As with Adler, the influence of Crane and McKeon was in fact only apparent, since the history department sustained its scholarship regardless of the attacks and lack of support.

Given Chicago's standing as a research university, it appears useful to assess Hutchins' impact on the history department by examining rankings of graduate schools. His adamant opposition to the very specialization that characterized graduate education and scholarship during his presidency might suggest that Chicago suffered in national reputational surveys. Two surveys, one published in 1925 and the other in 1957 and hence framing the Hutchins years, provide surprising information about the reputation of Chicago's graduate education.

Both Dzuback and McNeill offer extended discussions of Hutchins' repeated criticisms of departments in the humanities and social sciences; they also document his reluctance to appoint junior faculty with strong scholarly interests in those fields. Yet the impact of his actions in terms of national rankings appears to be unclear. In 1925, Chicago's humanities departments ranked third; in 1957 they had dropped to seventh (in these rankings, history was included as one of the humanities). As for the social sciences, they were ranked as second in both 1925 and 1957.[70]

In terms of specific shifts in humanities departments, the history department was ranked third in 1925 and seventh in 1957. Of the six humanities departments ranked in 1925 and 1957, five (including history) were ranked third, fourth, or fifth; in 1957 their rankings ranged from seventh to eleventh. The substantial drop in the overall humanities ranking was influenced most by the Romance languages, which fell from first to fifteenth.[71]

The overall framework of Chicago's academic distinction offers unexpected information, at least in view of the development of the physical sciences at the University during the Manhattan Project and Hutchins' reluctance to challenge the faculty members in the natural and physical sciences.[72] In the biological sciences, Chicago's ranking shifted from first in 1925 to fourteenth in 1957. In the physical sciences, Chicago's ranking moved from first in 1925 to third in 1957.[73] McNeill suggests that the physical sciences had a highly favorable environment at Chicago during the 1940s, and Dzuback indicates that both the biological and physical sciences enjoyed success during Hutchins' presidency. National rankings reflect otherwise.

These apparently contradictory developments deserve further attention. On the one hand, Hutchins might well have had a deleterious effect on the quality of graduate education and scholarship in the history department in view of its decline in the national rankings. On the other hand, despite his distaste for empiricism in the social sciences, those departments remained stable in national rankings between 1925 and 1957. Regardless of the extent of Hutchins' impact on history, what remains to be explained is the substantial decline, expecially in Chicago's rankings in the biological sciences, while the social sciences remained highly ranked. In view of the entire set of rankings and their changes over time, it seems reasonable to raise the issue of the relative impacts of presidential disdain (as regards, for example, history) and presidential inaction.[74] At first glance, the shifts in rankings in the humanities would suggest that Hutchins indeed had an impact on those departments, but the rankings in social sciences, biological sciences, and physical sciences obscure the meaning of that impact. While national rankings may represent only a partial picture of a department, given their methodological issues as well as the failure to capture on-campus sentiment about a department, nevertheless a substantial research question arises. To what degree can a strong-willed president, in command of resources at a time when resources are exceptionally scarce, shape a university or even a department?

Hutchins sardonically commented on his own lack of a doctorate, a degree, of course, with an emphasis on research. He began a speech to recent doctoral graduates of the University of Chicago:

> Since I am the only person here who is not the possessor of a Ph.D. degree it is only natural, if not proper, that I should discuss the qualifications for that degree and their ramifications in the life of the University of Chicago.[75]

To a considerable degree, Hutchins chose to exercise that natural, proper, and negative evaluation during his presidency at Chicago. He chose to withhold support for the history department, among others, because of its commitment to scientific investigations. Although history department members eventually advocated synthesis in the 1930s, reflecting a fuller meaning of *Wissenschaft*, and one closer to Hutchins' understanding of general education, Hutchins saw them as advocates of empiricism. The fundamental relationship of graduate study and *Wissenschaft*, especially at a research institution such as the University of Chicago, contrasted sharply with Hutchins' view of education. It appears, however, that Hutchins read Sir Francis Bacon and not Charles Beard when it came to the historians and their search for knowledge.

One can only be left with a sense of great concern that the president of a great research university with so many distinguished research scholars should so often misinterpret the nature of *Wissenschaft*, or, in its contemporary term, scholarship.[76]

Whatever the initial misconceptions of historians concerning *Wissenschaft*, there was sufficient argument within the profession by the 1930s to indicate their uncertainty about their interpretation. That uncertainty, and their call to synthesis and the study of ideas, was clearly evident among history professors at the University of Chicago by the middle of the 1930s. Hutchins chose to interpret the history department according to what he thought he knew, apparently without recognizing the importance of furthering his own knowledge and understanding. Yet his understanding of curriculum, manifested in his attempts to shape history courses and staffing at the University of Chicago, seemed to have little immediate effect. A powerful department, in combination with a powerful albeit internally contentious University faculty, left Hutchins with little opportunity to assert his opinoins.

NOTES

[1] An earlier version of this work was presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, April 1993. The author wishes to thank Mary Ann Dzuback, Lynn Gordon, Wayne Urban, and Roger Geiger for their comments.

[2] See, for example, Robert Birnbaum, "Will You Love Me in December as You Do in May?: Why Experienced College Presidents Lose Faculty Support," *Journal of Higher Education* 63 (10 January/February 1992): 1-25; Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1986); James L. Fisher, *Power of the Presidency* (New York: American Council on Education, 1984). One important albeit partial exception is Estela Bensimon and Anna Neumann, *Redesigning Collegiate Leadership: Teams and Teamwork in Higher Education* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Bensimon and Neumann emphasize that campus leaders, including presidents, must stay alert to the campus and its culture. They do not discuss in any detail, however, the ongoing education of presidents.

[3] Mary Ann Dzuback notes that Hutchins and the Chicago faculty fought about "the organization of teaching and scholarship" throughout Hutchins' presidency. See Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 208. Yet the issue of Hutchins' education as an issue of content does not fully enter Dzuback's explanation of Hutchins as president. See, for example, her analysis of Hutchins and the University faculty in regard only to Adler's influence, p. 207. In another biography of Hutchins, Milton Mayer, *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), argues that Hutchins' boyhood in Oberlin and two years at Oberlin College were the compelling influences in his life; see 16 and 508. While Mayer offers a great deal on Hutchins and his relationship with Adler (7, 111-126), he focuses the consequences of Hutchins' problems at Chicago on such issues as his personality, faculty salaries, and university governance, 337-357. As regards other biographies of other presidents, see for example Wayne J. Urban, *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond 1904-1972* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1992) and Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). Both biographers review the formal education of the presidents but offer little discussion of the informal education occurring during their presidencies.

[4] William T. Hutchinson, "The Department of History in Retrospect," Box 17, Folder 8, William T. Hutchinson papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 37.

[5] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 115, and William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago 1929-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 54-55.

[6] On Hutchins and principles, see Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978 reprint of 1936 edition), 48. For his thorough discussion of general education, see chap. 3, General Education, 59-87. On *Wissenschaft*, see Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 102.

[7] Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 127 on United States professors' interpretations of *Wissenschaft* and 320-321 on the institutional setting of research. On University of Chicago history professors and *Wissenschaft*, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25-26.

[8] Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America*, 89.

[9] Wilhelm von Humboldt, "On the Relative Merits of Higher Institutions of Learning," *Humanist Without Portfolio: An Anthology of the Writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt*, Marianne Cowan, trans. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), 134.

[10] Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The University of Utopia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 57. Although this statement is from a book printed well after the time period examined in this study, Hutchins began discussing the University of Utopia early in his career at Chicago. Furthermore, the sentiments expressed in the quotation (and others of times later than the period of this work) are consistent with his comments in the early 1930s. Since they are more explicit, they are useful explications.

[11] Wilhelm von Humboldt as quoted in Paul R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A Biography* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1980), v, 2, 50.

[12] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-31 on empiricism and objectivity, 40 on distancing from humanities. As discussed in endnote 6, while these historians did not use the term *Wissenschaft*, their interpretations of the concept, as a result of the substantial influence of German universities, dominated their professional lives.

[13] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 78-79. "The University of Chicago," *Fortune* 16 (December 1937): 152. Dzuback suggests the department was particularly strong in the 1920s, while the *Fortune* article notes continued strength from the early years of the University.

[14] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 97 on Andrew McLaughlin's American Historical Association presidency, 184 on William Dodd's presidency, 188 on Bessie Pierce's involvement in the Association, 404 on Louis Gottschalk's presidency.

[15] Benjamin McArthur, "A Gamble on Youth: Robert Maynard Hutchins, the University of Chicago and the Politics of Presidential Selection," *History of Education Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1990): 168, 179. See also Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 76.

[16] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, devotes an entire chapter, "Departmental Needs and Goals," 160-184, to these problems. See also McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 38 on the problems with the philosophy department, 76-77 on more general problems.

[17] Robert M. Hutchins, "Commencement Address," 1 June 1931, Berea College, Robert M. Hutchins papers, Box 19, Folder 5, University of Chicago Special Collections, 3, 4, 7.

[18] Hutchins, *The University of Utopia*, 24-25.

[19] Ibid., 35.

[20] Robert M. Hutchins, memorandum to Bernadotte Schmitt, 28 November 1934, Presidents' Papers ca. 1925 to 1945, Box 104, Folder 4, University of Chicago Special Collections.

[21] Robert Maynard Hutchins, *Education for Freedom* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), 3.

[22] Ibid., 7.

[23] Robert M. Hutchins, "The Autobiography Of An Ex-Law Student," 29 December 1933, Box 20, Folder 2, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 88 and 91.

[24] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 88-90 and McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 34-39, 58-59, 78.

[25] Hutchins and Adler were close friends, and their relationship had a curious impact on University of Chicago curricular battles. According to William McNeill, Adler never stated that he spoke for Hutchins, but Hutchins never disavowed Adler's claims about truth and principles. See McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 34.

[26] Mortimer J. Adler, *Philosopher At Large: An Intellectual Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), 124-125 on the language exam, 123-124 on the dissertation, and 125 on the dissertation defense.

[27] Ibid., 135 and 136.

[28] Ibid., 4.

[29] Ibid., 4.

[30] On the use of "we" in comments about teachers, see, for example, Robert M. Hutchins, "The Trend of Education," Inauguration address, Morehead State Teachers College, Kentucky, 2 May 1930, Box 19, Folder 5, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 6. On the use of "we" in reference to faculty at the University of Chicago, see Robert M. Hutchins, "Education and the University of Chicago," radio address, 1 February 1931, Box 19, Folder 6, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 7.

[31] Robert M. Hutchins, "Teaching Today," Commencement addresses at University of Richmond and Bowling Green State College, 28 May 1930 and 29 May 1930, Box 19, Folder 5, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 3.

[32] Robert M. Hutchins, "The Higher Learning II," address at the University of Chicago Trustees Dinner to Faculty, 11 January 1934, Box 20, Folder 2, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 4-5.

[33] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, argues that by the early 1930s the history department faculty feared Hutchins' plans for the department, 170.

[34] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 54-55.

[35] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 4 December 1930, Box 2, Folder 5, William T. Hutchinson papers, University of Chicago Special Collections.

[36] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 4 May 1931, Box 2, Folder 5, Hutchinson papers.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 259-260. Novick argues that Becker's and Beard's comments contrasted with prevailing sentiment in the historical profession.

[39] William Dodd as quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 270, and William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 28 December 1933, Box 2, Folder 6, Hutchinson papers.

[40] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 13 January 1933 and 17 January 1933, Box 2, Folder 6, Hutchinson papers.

[41] "University Committee on History," Box XXV, Folder 3, History Department papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 1.

[42] Bernadotte Schmitt, "Memorandum on the Future Policy of the Department of History," 29 January 1934, Box XXV, Folder 3, History Department Papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 1.

[43] Ibid., 1.

[44] On Schmitt's letter of retraction, see William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 19 February 1934, Box 2, Folder 6, Hutchinson papers. On history professors' subsequent teaching, see William T. Hutchinson, "The Department of History in Retrospect," William T. Hutchinson papers, Box 17, Folder 8, University of Chicago Special Collections, 43.

[45] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 87 on Crane's objections, 80 on Crane and McKeon.

[46] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 88 on Schevill and Scott.

[47] "The Organization of History in a University," Hutchinson papers, Box 7, Folder 7, 10 on Crane's argument, 11 on Hutchinson's notes.

[48] "The Objectives of a Department of History," Box XXV, Folder 3, History Department papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 3 and 4.

[49] Ibid., 5.

[50] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 277-278. Hutchinson reflected directly on issues which Novick identifies as central to the shift from empiricism to synthesis. See Hutchinson, "The Department of History in Retrospect," 10 on "'Van Rankeism'" and 38 on increasing departmental emphasis on analysis for graduate students in the 1930s.

[51] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 29 January 1935, Box 2, Folder 7, Hutchinson papers.

[52] Harry D. Gideonse, professor of economics at Chicago, wrote a riposte to Hutchins: The *Higher Learning in a Democracy* (New York, 1937).

[53] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 23 May 1935, Box 2, Folder 7, Hutchinson papers, on Cub losses. Another member of the history department, William McNeill, observed that after an initial flurry of response to Hutchins' book on the University of Chicago campus, most of which was focused on rebuttals by Harry Gideonse, there was little concern about the work itself. See McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 69-70 on Gideonse, and 82 for a general assessment of the impact of the book on Chicago faculty and students.

[54] A. [Arthur] P. Scott memorandum to Robert M. Hutchins, 17 March 1937, and Robert M. Hutchins memorandum to A. [Arthur] P. Scott, 24 March 1937, Presidents' Papers ca. 1925 to 1945, Box 104, Folder 5, University of Chicago Special Collections.

[55] Robert M. Hutchins, memorandum to Bernadotte Schmitt, 8 October 1936, Presidential Papers ca. 1925 to 1945, Box 104, Folder 5, University of Chicago Special Collections.

[56] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 80 on McKeon and Crane, 112-113 on their influence on the decision to exclude history.

[57] Ibid., 113 on the Illinois requirement, 114 on the lack of a response from the history department.

[58] Ibid., 130 on opposition to Crane and McKeon, 152-153 on the history of Western civilization course.

[59] Ibid., 154.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 9 May 1929, Box 2, Folder 5, Hutchinson papers.

[62] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 23 May 1935, Box 2, Folder 7, Hutchinson papers, on teaching excellence, and "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 13 February 1938, Box 2, Folder 7, Hutchinson papers, on the $1,000. On Hutchins's salary decisions in general, see McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 41-42.

[63] William T. Hutchinson, "Excerpts, WTH Diary," 10 May 1936, Box 2, Folder 7, Hutchinson papers.

[64] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 120.

[65] Herrlee Creel memorandum to Robert Maynard Hutchins, Emory Filbey and Robert Redfield, 18 January 1937, Box 3, Folder 5, History Department papers, University of Chicago Special Collections.

[66] McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, 77.

[67] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 173.

[68] Robert M. Hutchins to Bernadotte Schmitt, 1 November 1934, Presidential Papers ca. 1925 to 1945, Box 104, Folder 4, University of Chicago Special Collections. On the stability of staffing and Hutchinson's assessment of the quality of the faculty, see Hutchinson, "The Department of History in Retrospect," Table A, "Department of History, Data on Staff, Courses, and Enrollment 1929-1949," and 34 respectively.

[69] Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 168-171 on problems with appointments and promotions, 169 on quality of scholarship.

[70] Hayward Keniston, *Graduate Study and Research in the Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), 121 on humanities, 123 on social sciences.

[71] Ibid., 135 on history, and 128, 130, 134, 140, and 144 on remaining humanities departments. Curiously, philosophy, which Hutchins reportedly sacrificed in his attempt to appoint Adler to that department, experienced the same decline, from third to seventh, as history. On the sacrifice, see Mayer, *Robert Maynard Hutchins*, 126.

[72] On the natural and physical sciences in the post-World War II era, see McNeill, *Hutchins' University*, on the decline of the biological sciences, 161, and the strength of the physical sciences, 158-159. On Hutchins and the sciences, see Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 160-161 and 216.

[73] Keniston, *Graduate Study and Research in the Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania*, 120 on biological sciences, 122 on physical sciences.

[74] As an example of presidential action that resulted in increased institutional activity in physics, see Rebecca S. Lowen, "Transforming the University: Administrators, Physicists, and Industrial and Federal Patronage at Stanford, 1935-49," *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (Fall 1991): 365-388. Stanford's ranking in physics moved from thirteenth in 1925 to sixth in 1957. See Keniston, *Graduate Study and Research in the Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania*, 141.

[75] Robert M. Hutchins, "Address Before the Association of Doctors of Philosophy," 4 April 1931, Box 19, Folder 6, Robert M. Hutchins papers, University of Chicago Special Collections, 1.

[76] Despite his position on curriculum and the limits of empiricism, Hutchins was an indefatigable defender of academic freedom; see, for e[illegible]le, Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins*, 163-164. Nevertheless, his capacity for defending the univers[illegible]gainst external attacks apparently bore little relationship to his attempts to implement, at times in heavy-handed ways, his version of knowledge.

THE POLITICS OF OPPORTUNITY: PHILANTHROPIC FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS, OUT-OF-STATE AID AND BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH[1]

JAYNE R. BEILKE

Opportunities for graduate and professional education for African Americans were slow to develop in the South prior to the 1950s. Historically black colleges rarely had the resources or expertise to offer graduate degrees beyond the level of the masters. Denied access to majority institutions in the South, blacks who desired doctorate degrees were compelled to enroll in northern institutions. Beginning in the 1920s, the fellowship programs of the General Education Board (GEB) and the Julius Rosenwald Fund provided financial support for blacks who desired advanced training. While the GEB focussed on selecting fellows who would prove to be instrumental to advancing the educational initiatives of the Board, the Rosenwald Fellows resembled a Talented Tenth. In addition to the philanthropic fellowship programs, most southern states developed out-of-state scholarship programs in order to circumvent the *Gaines* case. While these fellowship/scholarship programs were crucial to the development of black leadership, the constraints placed upon recipients constituted another set of restrictions to higher education.

In 1931, Lillian Leondra Burwell applied for a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship to enable her to work toward a Doctor of Philosophy degree in zoology at the University of Chicago. At the time of application, she was teaching biology at Tillotson College, a historically black institution located in Austin, Texas. She had received her high school diploma from Tougaloo College in 1919 and the Bachelor of Science degree from Howard University in 1925. With the assistance of a General Education Board fellowship, she had earned a Master of Science degree from the University of Chicago in 1931 after three summers and one semester of study. The Rosenwald Fellowship Committee considered her to be a suitable candidate for a fellowship, and she was awarded a grant of $1000 to study zoology during 1932-33 at the University of Chicago. Upon receiving notification of the award, Burwell responded that, while thrilled at the prospect, the grant would not completely cover her expenses. George Arthur,

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secretary of the Fellowship Committee, replied that the Committee hoped that she would be "able to supplement this amount from your own savings or secure from other sources enough to carry you through the year."[2]

But Burwell had no other sources, having exhausted them in the pursuit of the master's degree. In addition to indebtedness stemming from that effort, she informed Arthur, "my mother was stricken with paralysis and is now an invalid. My father is too old to support her and take care of her needs properly. In rearing the thirteen children, my parents were unable to save very much for a time of need like this and I am the only one of the children without a family and able to contribute materially to their needs. If I should stop work they would be reduced to absolute want and so I must continue to make my monthly contributions." She went on to express her fear to Arthur that "this opportunity...may never come my way again should I refuse it now" and hoped that "someway, somehow a way might be opened to take advantage." Apparently touched by Burwell's situation, Arthur responded by asking her to submit a budget reflecting her financial needs which he forwarded to B. H. Willier of the department of zoology at the University of Chicago. Willier responded that the university was unable to supplement the fellowship. As a result, the fellowship award was canceled.[3]

Burwell's story illustrates the crucial role played by philanthropic fellowship programs in the development of graduate and professional education for African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study explores the historical development and ideological underpinnings of both philanthropic fellowship and public (state-aided) scholarship programs. It also illustrates the degree to which, while seemingly offering the opportunity for meritocratic access to education, the programs effectively exchanged one set of obstacles to graduate and professional education for another.

FROM THE PEABODY FUND TO THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The antecedent of philanthropic scholarship/fellowship programs operating in the South after the Civil War can be traced to the George Peabody Education Fund, which was considered the first American educational foundation. The Peabody Fund promoted the development of public education and teacher training within the context of the segregated system. The Peabody Fund's most enduring contribution to Southern education was its promotion of a regional normal college. In 1875, the trustees of the Peabody Fund entered into an agreement with the University of Nashville to convert the Literary Department into a State Normal College. As a means of attracting students, the trustees established scholarships of $200 each for two successive years "for the encouragement and aid of pupils from adjoining States, whose characters, abilities and general culture give special promise of usefulness as teachers." The students had to have the unqualified recommendation of the State Superintendent of Public

Instruction and be able to pass a "good examination for a graduate of a first-class high school."[4] The trustees compared this strategy to that used by the State of Massachusetts in 1853, when the legislature had appropriated annual stipends of $100 annually to 48 young men so that they could become "principal teachers" in high schools.[5] In the same vein, the Peabody Fund used the scholarships not specifically as a means of financial aid but as an incentive, with the expectation that the scholars' talents and influence would diffuse throughout the South. It was hoped that the scholarship recipient would complete his studies, return to his home state, and become an "apostle" for education, teaching and influencing fellow teachers and the general public by conducting teacher institutes or becoming a principal or superintendent.[6] The strategy worked—the State Normal College's enrollment increased from 60 students (59 of them from Tennessee) in 1875-76 to 133 (representing eleven southern states) in 1879-80. The scholarship program ended in 1904, with negotiations underway for endowing what had come to be known as the George Peabody College for Teachers and diverting scholarship money into institutional support.[7]

The two ideological heirs of the Peabody Fund fellowship program were the General Education Board (GEB) and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Beginning in 1902, the General Education Board fellowship program awarded nearly 2000 grants to black and white individuals before it ended in 1954. Emanating from the educational philanthropy of John D. Rockefeller and his family, the chief aim of the program was the preparation of teachers. Convinced that the development of an enduring Southern school system depended on first providing a white leadership that could be persuaded to support black education, the GEB's initial efforts in the South were fellowships/scholarships given to whites who were identified as possessing leadership potential for political influence in the public school system.

Over time the term "scholarship" denoted work beyond the baccalaureate degree and "fellowship" was associated with studies beyond the master's degree. The earliest GEB fellowship awards came at the request of James E. Russell, dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, who requested the Board's assistance to enable white southern teachers to complete their professional training at Columbia.[8] By 1905, the Board had established a network of contacts throughout the South and no longer needed to rely on Teachers College to suggest fellowship candidates. After severing its relationship with Columbia, the Board informally made awards to individuals whom the officers thought could provide educational leadership. Falling into that category were university faculty, county school administrators, state department officials, and county supervising teachers sponsored by the Anna T. Jeanes Fund.

Fellowship awards were originally allocated to white state superintendents in North Carolina and Kentucky, to be used to groom staff members for positions within state departments of instruction. The Board's practice of awarding fellowships to persons in teacher training institutions and a few superintendents signaled a departure from that original goal, thus making the fellowships less exclusive. For a period of time the officers relied heavily on the recommendations of the faculty of Peabody College in choosing fellows, but they became concerned that recipients did not hold sufficiently prominent educational positions. In fact, most of the awards were going to Peabody faculty who were not tied to the Fund's work throughout the South. A correction was made in the fellowship policy, stipulating that they were to be restricted to staff members of state departments of education and to persons in "key" positions, such as teachers in normal schools and university schools of education, and to an occasional outstanding supervisor, high school principal, or superintendent."[9] Additionally, fellowships were granted to faculty members in normal schools and colleges who trained teachers. But the officers were insistent that the GEB fellowships were to be limited to those fellows who could best serve the specific purposes defined by the foundation rather than to be dispersed among a larger group who demonstrated uncommon ability. As Frank P. Bachman, Director of School Surveys and Public Education for the GEB, stated: "If there were no definite, practical objects to be gained through the granting of fellowships, they would be granted solely on the basis of ability and promise of leadership in public education. However, persons of distinguished ability and exceptional promise can be found even when fellowships are granted under the particular limitations stated above."[10]

In addition to the GEB, the Rockefeller Boards included the Rockefeller Foundation, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), and the International Education Board. The fellowships programs of these funds trained public health officers, medical teachers, and scientists and social scientists. Beyond training individuals, their fellowships in the United States concentrated on research and the advancement of special fields (e.g., psychiatry) and were dispensed through the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council. While operationally modeled after these other programs, the GEB fellowship program focused more on the advanced preparation of teachers and the need for educational leadership in a particular field rather than research.[11]

From the outset, the GEB fellowship program displayed an instrumentalist bent, tying the awards to the Board's objectives which, at the time, lay in building the competence of southern colleges and agencies of education. The fellowships were to go to persons in influential positions rather than being generally disseminated to capable prospective teachers. According to Bachman, it was "not a question of getting persons to go to school, but a question of charging persons actually in strategic positions, or looking forward to such positions, to get the needed training to qualify them for leadership in their respective fields."[12] A 1925 analysis of the Rockefeller fellowship programs affirmed that "in no case are fellowships awarded for their own sake. They are regarded as one instrumentality for advancing a field of work in which a particular Board is interested. Travel, culture, international understanding, promotion of international goodwill are not the objects. These benefits may incidentally result; but in the minds of the Boards they are definitely subordinated to the principal purpose of advancing the work in a selected field."[13]

The GEB fellowship program was eventually expanded to higher education and the development of personnel for black as well as white institutions and agencies. In

1924, the GEB began to award fellowships to promising black instructors in southern institutions. In 1927, Bachman informed the superintendents of the southern states that a modification of the fellowship policy now required applicants to hold a baccalaureate degree. During this period, awards went primarily to persons in state departments of education as well as a few persons in schools of education of state universities or state normal schools.

As the Board continued to refine the fellowship program, it formulated the rules and regulations for persons holding fellowships in the field of public education. The amount of the stipend granted to black fellows ranged from $1000 for an unmarried man to $1500 for a married man. This was to intended to cover living expenses, travel and tuition fees for one year at a northern educational institution. For whites, however, the amounts ranged from $1200 for an unmarried man to $2000 for a married man with three children.[14] The Board justified the differential pattern of funding by stating that stipends for fellows from the southern states were "determined in part by the salaries normally received by applicants and by the amount contributed by their institutions during terms of fellowship tenure; but usually the fellow is called upon to accept a loss of income."[15]

One of the program's distinguishing characteristics was the requirement that nominations for fellowships had to originate with the presidents of the black colleges and universities. Nominations were forwarded to the GEB officers along with supporting materials such as letters of recommendation, medical reports, transcripts, and a plan of study. The officers then interviewed the candidates and evaluated them on the basis of what service they could render to the institution. As a means of strengthening the institutions, the GEB was interested in developing personnel who could staff new departments, undertake the curriculum development necessary for offering doctoral degrees, and otherwise help to increase the competence of black institutions. To that end, loyalty emerged as a primary value associated with the fellowship awards. This requirement is evidenced by the experience of Howard D. Gregg.

On his fellowship application, Gregg listed State Agricultural and Mechanical College at Orangeburg, South Carolina, as the place where he had obtained his elementary, high school, and normal school training. He wrote in the margin of the application form: "My mother was [a] teacher of domestic science at State A & M for twenty-five years. Hence I started here as a boy."[16] He had received a baccalaureate degree from Lincoln University, followed by three semesters at the Yale School of Religion. He was the dean of instruction, professor of education, and director of the summer school at State A & M at the time of his application for a fellowship. Stating that he needed "training in the field of education as I intend to remain in this field for life," he wished to enroll in courses during the summer session at Columbia University in 1928. But Leo M. Favrot, general field agent of the GEB, became concerned when he received word that Gregg did not intend to return to Orangeburg. Favrot fired off a letter to Gregg stating: "The policy of the General Education Board is to help, through its fellowship fund, a selected group of institutions in the South to strengthen their faculties. You were accorded fellowship aid largely because you occupied a very important position as dean at State College, Orangeburg. It was with the full expectation that you would return to the institution, and in filling out your application blank, you made the statement that this was your intention."[17]

Favrot then suggested that Gregg make an appointment to talk with W.W. Brierly, Secretary of the GEB, to discuss the matter. In his own letter to Brierly, Favrot remarked: "In accepting fellowship aid, it was with the distinct understanding that on the completion of his year's graduate work at Columbia he would return to Orangeburg to resume his former work there. We have adhered to the policy of giving fellowships for the purpose of improving the faculties of institutions in the South, and we invariably expect those who receive this aid to return to the South."[18] Consequently, Brierly assured Favrot that Gregg "realized that there is an obligation on his part to return to his post at Orangeburg and is planning to return home about June 5."[19]

But after talking with Brierly, Gregg applied for a position at Howard University. Again reminded of his obligation to the Board, Gregg informed Brierly that his fellowship had caused hard feelings at Orangeburg. According to Gregg, State College President R. S. Wilkinson had tried to dissuade him from accepting the fellowship, saying that the amount of the grant was too small. When Gregg accepted the fellowship, Wilkinson asked Gregg to vacate his house and refused him permission to store his furniture in the basement of one of the college buildings. He was given to understand that there would be no place for him at Orangeburg, even if he returned. It appears that Gregg returned to Orangeburg only to direct the summer school.[20]

By 1938, the bar for fellowship qualifications was raised once again. Candidates now had to have earned a master's degree. Fellowships were clearly separated from scholarship awards, which required less than a master of arts or master of science degree. At about this time, the GEB began a pattern of comparing notes with members of the Rosenwald Fund Fellowship Program about candidates approved for awards and the merits of past recipients. The officers were keenly aware that many candidates navigated between the two funds in an effort to gain financial support for graduate and professional training, which could rarely be completed within the short (one or two years) duration of a fellowship.

THE JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Chartered in 1917, the Rosenwald Fund was established by Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company. The Fund's best known program was the Southern school building program that ran from 1928 to 1932. During that time the Fund established public schoolhouses, shops, and teachers' houses throughout the South by matching the contributions of money or labor made by black and white citizens. Following a pattern similar to that of the GEB, the Rosenwald Fellowship Program developed from informal handouts to individual petitioners by Rosenwald himself into a formal program that made over 800 awards before the Fund's demise in 1948.

In a discussion among the Rosenwald trustees about how foundations could best utilize their resources, the trustees commented that they considered fellowships to be "among the most useful contributions of all the Foundations... for advanced training to men or women who may be entering one or more of the fields in which we take special interest."[21] However, they also spoke romantically about patronage relationships and their reluctance to rely solely upon the expertise located at universities to provide a talent pool:

> In former ages this was more fashionable. Rulers and rich men from the time of Pericles through the Middle Ages were in the habit of serving as patrons of creative workers particularly in the arts...rather than endowing with large sums departments of universities which as time goes on, may or may not include the best men, a better as well as a more economical use of money might be to select from time to time individuals of recognized ability and to make it possible for them during their active careers to work most effectively. This would usually be done in connection with Universities. While the Julius Rosenwald Fund might not care to enter upon this as a general policy, it might experiment with the possibilities of this method in the Negro field, in which it has taken especial interest, by selecting a very small number of individuals and making it possible for them to work most effectively. E. E. Just, the eminent biologist at Howard, and Charles [S.] Johnson, the new head of the department of social science at Fisk, is examples of the type.[22]

From the outset, the Rosenwald fellowship enabled blacks, both graduate and undergraduate, to study at northern institutions. While the early emphasis was on medical and nursing personnel, vocational and industrial teachers, and librarians, the fund later placed greater emphasis on the liberal and fine arts.[23] Like the GEB, the Rosenwald trustees soon feared that the number of appeals from undergraduates would overwhelm the program. Against the background of the Great Depression, with the Rosenwald resources tied to Sears stock, the trustees cut back on the number of awards to undergraduate students, home demonstration agents, and doctors or nurses attached to institutions receiving aid from the Fund. In formalizing the program, a Fellowship Committee was created from a tightly knit group of individuals, including Charles Johnson, who would become the first black president of Fisk University; Edwin Rogers Embree, the president of the Rosenwald Fund; Will W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; and Henry Allen Moe, director of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship Program. With the establishment of this nucleus of policy-makers, the fellowships were awarded to "superior individuals" in the liberal arts, fine arts, and social sciences.[24]

OUT-OF-STATE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

Just as the educational philanthropic fellowship programs continued to evolve during the late 1920s and 1930s, pressure continued to build on the part of Southern blacks for increased access to higher education. The racially segregated system codified by the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1898 retarded the development of educational opportunities for blacks in the South, even as the need for graduate and professional training grew. The strategy that was eventually used by nearly all southern states to circumvent black demands for the support of advanced public education was out-of-state scholarships. Initiated by the state of Missouri in 1921, the scholarships were an attempt by the states to meet their obligation to provide graduate opportunities for blacks by furnishing stipends to study at northern schools. Many of these programs date from the 1930s, and were maintained in blatant disregard of *Gaines ex. Rel. v. Canada* (1938). In this decision, the United States Supreme Court essentially rendered the practice of out-of-state scholarships illegal on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ruling that "the payment of tuition fees in another state does not remove the discrimination."[25]

In the state of Kentucky, for example, the passage of the Anderson-Mayer State Aid Act (also known as the Out-of-State Aid Program) in 1936 provided financial aid to blacks who were constitutionally forbidden to pursue coursework at the University of Kentucky. In order to qualify for state aid, blacks had to have continuously resided in Kentucky for five years, be able to qualify for matriculation at the University of Kentucky, and major in programs that were not offered at historically black Kentucky State Industrial College, West Kentucky Industrial College, or Louisville Municipal College. The amount awarded for tuition and fees, set by the state superintendent of public instruction, was limited to no more than $175 per academic year.[26] In addition, students had to file application forms (complete with official transcripts) with the superintendent one semester or quarter at a time. Applications from graduates of standard four-year colleges were given preference, and the awards were conditional upon the applicant being accepted by the institution indicated in his or her application.[27]

After the decision rendered in *Gaines v. Canada*, the governor appointed a committee to study the problem of higher education for African Americans in Kentucky. Requests for aid under the Anderson-Mayer Act increased to the point that the total disbursements (averaging approximately $7000 each year) exceeded the appropriations for the school year. During the 1938-39 summer school, 131 students attended 23 institutions in 16 states and the District of Columbia. Their choices of majors were distributed over 19 fields, with education majors constituting the bulk of summer school enrollment. The two institutions most frequently attended were historically black Fisk University and Indiana University, both of which were geographically adjacent to Kentucky.[28]

Following the pattern established by other states, in 1942 the responsibility for administering aid under the Anderson-Mayer Bill was transferred to President R. B.

Atwood of the Kentucky State College for Negroes. While the advent of World War II depressed enrollments during the early 1940s, the superintendent offered another explanation:

> Many state legislatures in the South, stimulated by the Supreme Court decision in the *Gaines* case, granted unprecedented financial support to their Negro state colleges during this period. Our own State, not having reached a decision as to whether it would bring about equality in higher education for Negroes by expanding the Negro college or by admitting Negro students to graduate and professional courses in existing state institutions, left its Negro college in a somewhat defenseless situation where its better faculty members were attracted to more lucrative positions in other institutions and indeed a position where the accreditation of the Kentucky State College for Negroes was seriously threatened....Pending provision of equality within the state, the Out-of-State Aid Program, inaugurated in 1936 continued to service Negro applicants.[29]

Although the Southern states might have perceived the *Gaines* case to be a bellwether, the practice of out-of-state scholarships continued, in some states, as late as the 1960s. The provisions made by the states varied, with some paying the difference in cost between tuition at a northern school and that of a public in-state institution, while others paid the difference in room and board, covered a portion of living expenses, or reimbursed the student for the cost of transportation to a northern institution. North Carolina, for example, would only offer courses in law and pharmacy if ten or more students applied for them at the two state institutions for blacks (North Carolina College for Negroes and North Carolina A & T College). In the absence of ten persons for such courses, potential students had to accept the out-of-state scholarships, thus effectively circumventing the expansion of the curriculum at black institutions. Commenting on the *Gaines* case, Charles H. Thompson noted in 1939 that seven states had made some sort of scholarship provision as a means of establishing a defense against lawsuits that had already been started or were imminent. Almost invariably these scholarships were "mere pittances, being neither sufficient in number or amount."[30] Thompson reflected the views of much of the black leadership when he stated, "if the legislature thought scholarships would meet the needs here, it should have been a little more considerate of the Negroes who wished to do such work and allowed them to choose between scholarships or work at one of the Negro institutions set up to carry it on."[31]

While some graduate and professional education was available at a few of the private and public historically black colleges and normal schools, it generally did not go beyond the level of the master's degree. Additionally, laboratory and library facilities at northern institutions were superior to those of southern white institutions. Philosophically, the provision of graduate and professional studies by historically black institutions was opposed by some members of the black leadership, who argued that it would perpetuate the dual educational system. Into this mix was added the increased demand for an improved education sparked by influential surveys of the status of black education such as those by Thomas Jesse Jones, Arthur J. Klein, and others.[32]

PHILANTHROPIC FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS AND OUT-OF-STATE SCHOLARSHIPS: CONFLICTING INTERESTS

In 1945, Flora M. Rhind, assistant director of the GEB, noticed that Albert T. Harris had mentioned on his fellowship application form that he was receiving assistance from the State of Virginia. Rhind questioned L. H. Foster, Sr., president of Virginia State College, about it and cautioned him that it would be necessary to deduct the amount of any outside sources from that provided by the GEB fellowship.[33] Foster responded that assistance from the State of Virginia was "a small grant allowed to all Negro residents of Virginia who are forced to go outside of the State for study." He also advised Rhind that since all black residents of Virginia studying outside the state were entitled to the grant, it would work a hardship on staff members of Virginia State College to deduct out-of-state aid from their grants and not those of GEB fellows from Hampton Institute, Virginia Union, and other institutions within the State.[34] Foster subsequently forwarded to Rhind a copy of the law under which aid to Negro students was provided by the State of Virginia, reminding her that it stated that "applicants who meet all the requirements of the act should receive full payment. There may be no diminution because of assistance received by the student from other sources."[35]

At issue were the awards of five GEB fellows whose reimbursement for tuition and roundtrip travel expenses had already been disbursed by the Board. In a telephone conversation between Foster and A. R. Mann, director for Southern Education and GEB vice-president, Foster told Mann that any attempt to recoup money from previous fellowship holders would embarrass the individuals as well as Foster, who was the administrator of Virginia's out-of-state scholarship fund. Foster explained to Mann that he thought that most of the students did not understand the matter and did not interpret the state grants as being "contrary to the understanding and wishes of the Board." Furthermore, since state law required that such grants be made to all blacks from Virginia institutions who studied at institutions outside the state, "fellowship holders have felt that this legally prescribed payment was allowable and would not be viewed as a violation of the Board's intentions."[36] It was altogether possible that Foster thought that he was acting in the best interests of the students by advising them that there was no conflict between acceptance of the state scholarships and the GEB fellowships, thereby enabling them to benefit from both. On the basis of Foster's explanation, Mann chose not to dun the students who had already begun their studies.

Letters went out from the GEB reminding fellows to report all funds received from sources other than the Board (specifically state aid), warning them that failure to provide that information would invalidate the award. Several of the students who had received large amounts of state aid chose to terminate their GEB fellowships rather than attempt to reimburse the GEB in the amount they had received from the state. The GEB seemed oblivious for some time to the Southern states' practice of awarding out-of-state aid. Later, the GEB officers surveyed all state agents of black education and the presidents of black colleges, asking them to verify lists of fellowship recipients who might be receiving state aid.[37]

The GEB survey revealed that Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no provision whatsoever for state aid while Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee assisted graduate students who were pursuing the master's degree. Of greatest concern to the GEB, however, were the states that specifically appropriated aid for graduate study at the level of the doctorate; namely, Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. In Rhind's opinion, those states represented the Board's "major problem." While the funding requirements and formulae of these states varied (the residency requirement for the state of Texas, for example, was eight years, while Missouri had no such stipulation whatsoever)[38] they generally provided "equalization" on some combination of tuition, travel, room, and board. In other words, they paid the difference between the cost of attending the state's white flagship institution compared with that of a northern institution. While some states covered tuition only, others made adjustments for travel and lodging.

In its refusal to work collaboratively, the state scholarship programs became a logistical nightmare for the Board, with each case requiring "special handling,"in Rhind's words, "as well as infinite patience on the part of the Board, the fellow, the institution attended and the sponsoring institution." As far as the officers were concerned, there was "little interest on the part of the fellow in applying for state aid. He may be overwhelmed by the red tape involved and not wish to go through with it or try to understand it. Or he may feel that as long as he has a fellowship, the Board should care for his expenses."[39] Whether or not that was in fact the case, there is no doubt that fellowship holders were ultimately discouraged by the Board from seeking state aid at the risk of losing the more lucrative and prestigious fellowships. As far as the GEB was concerned, the state scholarships should be reserved for those students who did not measure up to the standards required for a GEB fellowship.

Beyond the bureaucratic problems, the GEB officers feared that the *Gaines* case would lead to a multiplicity of second-rate black graduate and professional schools, as Southern states attempted to comply with the ruling, and that the Board would be asked to scatter its funds throughout the South in support of such institutions. This action would not only fly in the face of the Board's established policy of supporting regional centers, but would engender "mediocrity." The GEB's answer to the dilemma, in addition to the continuation of the fellowship program, was the creation of the controversial Southern Regional Education Plan whereby eleven southern states subsidized certain educational institutions for each out-of-state student who enrolled.[40] The Board worried needlessly about compliance. By 1950, aid was still not available in Mississippi and South Carolina. But the practice also worked in reverse—in Louisiana, one could not apply for state aid if s/he were receiving aid from a source such as a philanthropic fund.[41]

FOUNDATION CONTROL OVER FELLOWS

The strings attached to philanthropic fellowship awards and state aid were not only monetary in nature. The educational foundations, in particular, reminded fellows not only of their obligation to the Fund (e.g., an insistence that fellows return to the South upon completion of their studies) but also controlled their institutional choice, research topic, and professional destination.

At the time of his application for a fellowship from the Rosenwald Fund in 1938, John A. Davis was an assistant professor of political science at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. He wished to pursue a Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin and to conduct research concerning the role of blacks in politics in New York. It had been agreed during Davis' interview that he would attend Columbia University. After receiving the offer from the Rosenwald Fund Davis wrote to Raymond R. Paty, director of the Fellowship Program, as follows: "I accept in accordance with the plan which I discussed with [Fellowship Committee member] Henry Allen Moe but I would like to point out that the University of Wisconsin gave me the highest departmental fellowship in political science which included $600 and my tuition, and that Harvard expressed its willingness to grant me a fellowship. Columbia...offered nothing. I state this merely for your information and consideration."[42] When Moe heard about it from Paty, he wrote to Davis:

> Will you please give me enlightenment as to what you had in mind when you wrote that letter? You were granted a Rosenwald Fellowship of $1500, which I take it is a far better fellowship than any other you were offered. I highly approve of you taking the best fellowship you could get and I do not object to you applying to several institutions at once but why—you having received a Rosenwald Fellowship—should you recite your other offers to me? I'm curious about it, and I am more than curious since you state it for 'my consideration.' What kind of consideration, consideration to what purpose, have you in mind, please?[43]

Davis quickly responded that he was sorry to have "offended" Moe and continued:

> You will recall that in New York on April 2 we discussed the school I should attend. At that time I had received no announcements of scholarships and could not tell you about them in our earlier discussion of Columbia. Perhaps I should have written you earlier, but frankly I feared that you and the Rosenwald Board would consider it bad taste. Finally I wrote because of two factors.

> First, I thought that the scholarships were grants about which you should be honestly told since you require a budget in your application. The point for consideration here is whether you prefer saving money which would result from my going to Wisconsin or the improvement of my work as it relates to the proposed study from my going to Columbia. Secondly, I want to know what you think about my ever getting money from Columbia? What is their attitude, in short? I only know Abram L. Harris who has certainly done some brilliant work, yet I am under the impression that Columbia's aid to him was not particularly good. I do know that they are usually completely unconcerned with candidates for the A.M. Now in my second year of work, if I fail to get a renewal from the Rosenwald Fund and Columbia gives me nothing where can I turn. Wisconsin will hardly be interested, and the Social Science Research Foundation [sic] will give fellowships only for purely research projects.[44]

Placated by Davis' attributing his letter to "the result of a confusion of emotional impulses," Moe responded:

> My reaction to your question is something like this: So far as I am concerned—and I have no title to speak for the Rosenwald Fund, remember! —the important point when assistance is given to a scholar is that he should have the best facilities possible; saving money is no inducement.
>
> All I know about Columbia's attitude is that they, like other universities, are interested in helping their best students. The Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences, I happen to know, made a good-sized grant to Dr. Abram L. Harris while he was studying for his doctorate there.
>
> As I said to you here, I think that when a young man who is trying to make a scholar of himself acts on the basis of playing safe he is likely to lose the ballgame. The point is to make earned runs not to stay on the bases. What do you do if you don't get a Rosenwald renewal? The answer to that is that you are thinking the wrong way; make up your mind to turn out work of such quality that the Rosenwald, or some other Fund, will be delighted to grant you a renewal.[45]

Several days later, Davis informed Paty that he would be attending Columbia University. But Davis' application for a renewal of his fellowship for 1940-41 raised another issue. In 1940, Arthur W. MacMahon of Columbia University wrote to George M. Reynolds, who had replaced Paty as the director of the Fellowship Program, as follows: "Just for your attention informally I raise the question of whether he should not be encouraged to turn aside from the study of Negro Politics in New York, at least as a thesis topic. I think he has an excellent beginning on it. I have no doubt he would do a very revealing study. But I wonder whether Negro students ought not to choose topics outside of their peculiar race problems? Certainly I feel a man as capable as Davis is would perhaps do well to make his reputation in the fields in no way connected with race. If he wants to turn back to racial problems at a later time, all right. What do you think?"[46]

Reynolds responded that MacMahon's point was well taken, but that "such questions are left entirely to the Fellow and his advisers at the institution where he is studying." He agreed with MacMahon, however, that "a man as capable as Davis should make his reputation in the field of government in general, outside of anything connected with race." He added that Davis would probably be in "a better position to deal with the race question in politics" after having developed his research skills and he encouraged MacMahon to talk with Davis.[47] Consequently, Davis attached a letter to his renewal application informing Reynolds that he was considering a study of administrative techniques in social security rather than a study of the Negro in politics in New York, having talked the matter over with Henry Allen Moe. His ambivalence about the matter, however, was evident: "Two things I want above all to make clear. First of all, whether the Rosenwald Fund grants me another renewal or not, I am willing to do the study of the Negro in politics in New York now and not later if they feel that the subject of my doctor's dissertation should remain unchanged. Secondly, I have already been working on the original project, and have to date made contacts with all the leading Negro politicians in the city." It was clear that this was the project that had captured Davis' interest. But using language that strangely objectified blacks, David went on to state that "as a Negro I ought to write on some other subject than the Negro. The Negro in the Social Sciences tends to write about himself to the exclusion of all else. That is why he has not yet acquired the universality of recognition of a [George Washington] Carver or a [E. E.] Just." Reverting to a more confident tone, however, he assured the committee that he was "prepared to do a descriptive study of the Negro in politics in New York but not a more "scholarly contribution" to the field of political behavior; and... that if he did not do the administrative techniques in social security study that someone else would." But he also called the administrative study "highly limited in appeal, and one that only scholarly technicians and government officials will be interested in" whereas "a study of the Negro in politics can be a very popular book. If I used it as a thesis, few publishing houses will take it, but if I already have a book, they will."[48] One wonders who Davis was attempting to convince—the fellowship committee or himself. After a series of delays, Davis received the Ph.D. in 1949—from Columbia University. His publication record, which includes studies of fair employment practices and the organization of the social security administration, shows no indication of a study of the African American political presence in New York City.[49]

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the philanthropic fellowship programs and state scholarship programs contributed to the expansion of educational opportunities for Southern blacks at the level of graduate and professional training. The fellowships not only enabled blacks to gain advanced training, but also to attend Northern institutions that were superior even to those of white universities in the South. Taken together, the fellowship/scholarship programs contributed substantially to black professional competence and leadership across all fields. But on the other hand, the foundations, via the fellowship programs, dangled the carrot of educational opportunity to a relatively small number of blacks. Their concentration on advanced training at the graduate level all but excluded students at the baccalaureate level. In addition, the GEB's use of fellowships as instrumental to the aims of the Board, combined with the Rosenwald Fund's desire to encourage the Talented Tenth, acted to limit democratic access to education on the part of blacks.

The most comprehensive and resourceful of the philanthropic fellowship programs, that of the GEB and the Rosenwald Fund, developed a mutually beneficial relationship which allowed them to exchange information regarding candidates, fellowship procedures, and the attitudes and proclivities of administrators and faculty members at white colleges and universities. But this also created a closed system, whereby blacks were sometimes prevented from determining their place of study, research topic, and professional destination. Blacks were often treated paternalistically by officers of the funds, who thought them incapable of understanding fellowship/scholarship policies and constantly searching for ways in which to take advantage of the fund's largess.

The GEB fellowship program never wavered from its goal of "instrumentality." To that end, the fellowship award was an extension of the Fund's agenda, an investment from which the Fund expected a return. Against the backdrop of the Progressive Era, fellows were expected to fit into the mold shaped by the award. In a setting where institutional competence was measured on the basis of accreditation reports, increased endowments, and the production of graduates from black institutions, individual achievement was secondary. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that, on the threshold of the ruling in *Brown v. The Board of Education*, the Board officers expressed a lingering disappointment: "In the last years of the Board's existence, Negro colleges were still in desperate need of immediate faculty improvement…" and "qualified applicants for fellowship awards were still difficult to find..." despite the fact that more than 1000 fellowships and scholarship had been awarded to black applicants through the Board's Southern Program.[50]

The Rosenwald Fellowship Program, while displaying an instrumentalist agenda during its earlier years (1928-35), essentially adopted a Talented Tenth approach in the tradition of W.E.B. Dubois toward its latter stages (1936-48). The fellowship committee pointed with pride at the lists, which appeared annually in newspapers, announcing the Fellows for the coming year. In 1937, a report to the trustees stated that the fellowships were "the subject of much favorable comment in the news and editorial columns of Southern papers. The fact that the same high standards were applied in the selection of Negro candidates as in the choice of white fellows was a matter of surprise to many commentators and may be a means of calling attention to recent achievements by Negroes."[51]

While the philanthropic programs were more generous than the state programs, the amount of aid was inadequate and subject to a myriad of constraints. The need to live in unfamiliar Northern surroundings, isolated from friends and family and sometimes subjected to unpleasant encounters with unsympathetic professors and colleagues created another kind of hardship. Additionally, the officers of the funds held an unrealistic view of the challenges which blacks faced in completing graduate school. They were often expected to complete the coursework and dissertation in two years' time, maintain an exemplary academic record, and not allow the pressures of family to interfere. Back home, fellows sometimes contended with the jealousy and envy of administrators and colleagues at the black institutions that had sponsored them. While state scholarship recipients might avoid the latter situation, the considerable amount of red tape involved in the procurement of what amounted to a token amount of money would have discouraged all but the most persistent student.

Lastly, the state scholarship programs were about neither institutional competence nor individual achievement. They were simply and unequivocally an extra-legal strategy for circumventing not only the state's investment in segregated educational facilities, but also the insistence on the part of blacks for educational equality. With the states' decisions to utilize out-of-state scholarships instead of developing black institutions within their borders, blacks were deprived of the choice of attending black or majority Northern institutions. This situation not only further jeopardized the development of historically black colleges and universities during the period leading up to the *Brown* case, but allowed educational foundations to continue to exercise control over selected historically black institutions through the use of fellowships in order to build institutional competence.

And what of Lillian Burwell? She continued to enroll in graduate courses during the summer, and her employment at Tillotson reveals no breaks. During the 1934-35 academic year, she married John F. Lewis, professor and head of the education department at Tillotson. In 1946, nearly fifteen years after she had been selected as a Rosenwald Fellow, she earned the Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Chicago. She and her husband left Tillotson in 1947 when Lillian accepted a position as science department head and professor of biology at Winston-Salem Teachers College, from which she retired in 1970.[52] Burwell's story illustrates how the barriers of race and class were overcome by a limited number of blacks who desired graduate and professional education prior to integration. Further research is needed on internal sources of aid, which were available to blacks during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Just as blacks were required to provide matching resources in the Rosenwald school building program, the fellowship funds requested that candidates enumerate other sources of aid. While the state scholarships were one source, private support from family members, clubs, churches, schools, and community organizations undoubtedly made up the difference. A study of those sources would provide insight into the efforts of the black middle class to gain upward mobility through education. It might also reveal to what degree blacks used the fellowships and state scholarships as their own "instrumentality" for advancement toward equality.

NOTES

[1] The author wishes to thank Roger Geiger for his constructive comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Research for this article was in part conducted with the support of a Rockefeller Archive Center grant-in-aid.

[2] Application for Fellowship, 1931, Box 399, folder 1, Julius Rosenwald Fund Papers, Fisk University Library Special Collections, Nashville, Tenn. (hereafter cited as JRF).

[3] George Arthur to Lillian Burwell, letter, 8 Nov. 1932, Box 399, folder 1, JRF.

[4] Hoy Taylor, *An Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Education Fund*. Contribution to Education No. 114 (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1933), 142.

[5] Ibid., 141.

[6] Ibid., 142.

[7] George A. Dillingham, *The Foundation of the Peabody Tradition* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), 56.

[8] Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 298.

[9] F. P. Bachman, memorandum on fellowships, 5 May 1924, Box 255, folder, 2766, p. 3, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, N. Tarrytown, N.Y. (hereafter cited as GEB).

[10] F. P. Bachman, memorandum, 5 May 1924, Box 255, folder 2766, GEB.

[11] Interoffice correspondence, Box 232, folder 2345, 27 September 1933, GEB.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Analysis of Fellowships Granted by Rockefeller Boards, 1925, Box 195, folder 1848, p. 3, GEB.

[14] W.W. Brierley to J. Marshall, memorandum, 19 June 1933, Box 232, folder 2345, GEB.

[15] Internal Regulations, 1 January 1934, Box 232, folder 2345, p. 5, GEB.

[16] Fellowship Application Blank, 4 April 1928, Box 241, folder 2428, GEB.

[17] L. M. Favrot to H. D. Gregg, letter, 18 March 1929, Box 241, folder 2428, GEB.

[18] L. M. Favrot to W. W. Brierley, letter, 18 March 1929, Box 241, folder 2428, GEB.

[19] W. W. Brierley to L. M. Favrot, letter, 26 March 1929, Box 241, folder 2428, GEB.

[20] W.W. Brierley with H. D. Gregg, interview, 26 April 1929, Box 241, folder 2428, GEB.

[21] Conference of the Trustees, 29 April 1928, Box 135, pp. 12-13, JRF.

[22] Ibid., 13.

[23] For a more thorough discussion of the changing policies of the JRF Fellowship Program over the course of its existence, see Jayne R. Beilke, "The Shifting Emphasis of the Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowship Program, 1928-1948," *Journal of Negro Education* 66 (Fall/Winter 1997), forthcoming.

[24] Meeting of the Trustees, 7 November 1931, Box 135, p.18, JRF.

[25] Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the United States October Term, 1938. *Supreme Court Reporter* 59 (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Company, 1939), 236.

[26] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky for the Session Beginning January 7 and ending February 15, 1936* (Frankfort, Ky.): 111, Kentucky State Archives, Public Records Division (hereafter cited as KSA).

[27] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Kentucky 1: For the Biennium ended June 30, 1937* (Frankfort, Ky.): 43, KSA.

[28] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Kentucky 2: For the Biennium ended June 30, 1939* (Frankfort, Ky.): 41-43, KSA.

[29] *Educational Bulletin. Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 8* (Dec. 1945): 644-45, KSA.

[30] Charles H. Thompson, "The Missouri Decision and the Future of Negro Education," *Journal of Negro Education* 8 (April 1939): 131.

[31] Ibid., 137

[32] See, for example, Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1917); Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1929); and Fred McCuistion, *Graduate Instruction for Negroes in the United States* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939).

[33] F. M. Rhind to L. H. Foster, letter, 29 June 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[34] L. H. Foster to F. M. Rhind, letter, 3 July 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[35] L. H. Foster to F. M. Rhind, letter, 12 October 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[36] A. R. Mann with L. H. Foster, telephone conversation, 17 August 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[37] F. M. Rhind to J. E. Shepard, letter, 25 October 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[38] F. M. Rhind, Summary, 7 November 1945, Box 237, folder 2396, GEB.

[39] D. H. Hamilton to R.W. July, memorandum, 12 January 1950, Box 237, folder 2397, p. 2, GEB.

[40] Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*, 182-3.

[41] D. H. Hamilton to R. W. July, memorandum, 12 January 1950, Box 237, folder 2397, p. 2, GEB.

[42] J. A. Davis to R. R. Paty, letter, 19 April 1938, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[43] H. A. Moe to J. A. Davis, letter, 3 May 1938, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[44] J. A. Davis to H. A. Moe, letter, 7 May 1938, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[45] H. A. Moe to J. A. Davis, letter, 13 May 1938, Box 406, folder 4, JRF. For a discussion f the domination of foundations over research on the Negro question, see John H. Stanfield, *Philanthropy and Jim Crow in American Social Science* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

[46] A. W. MacMahon to G. M. Reynolds, letter, 26 January 1940, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[47] G. M. Reynolds to A. W. MacMahon, letter, 6 February 1940, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[48] J. A. Davis, Application for Fellowship Reappointment, February, 1940, Box 406, folder 4, JRF.

[49] Phelps, Shirelle, ed., *Who's Who Among African Americans 1998-99*, 10th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997).

[50] Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*, 306.

[51] Meeting of the Trustees, 11 November 1938, Box 136, p. 12, JRF.

[52] Carter B. Cue, archivist at Winston-Salem State University. Telephone conversation with author, 23 March 1998.

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF AMERICAN'S ANTEBELLUM COLLEGES

PAUL H. MATTINGLY

In spite of local and denominational variations, the American college experienced historical commonalties and a conceptual cohesion before the Civil War. The antebellum college achieved its institutional character by drawing from both evangelical and political cultures of the period but also by resisting and recreating features of both traditions into a newly idealized, civic education. This essay assesses the distinctive and problematic context within which both new-founded and older colleges operated; it also put familiar episodes like the Dartmouth College case and the Yale Report in a newly critical light.

I

Schooling in early nineteenth-century America, especially beyond the district or common school, assumed an increasingly important role in both the moral and the commercial life of the nation.[1] Much historical scholarship has approached the American college, in particular, with twentieth-century assumptions of its importance, its place in a calibrated educational ladder, and its necessity in the training of social leaders and professionals. However, the centrality of the college in the American republic was the product of vigorous nineteenth-century competitions, which often shared little of the meaning and conceptions that later generations would attribute to college instruction. During the antebellum period, the service of the largely denominational college to the republic was not obvious. Had not the majority of Americans achieved literacy with minimal or no formal schooling?[2] What service could any advanced instruction provide when work and experience offered basic learning skills to every citizen? For the American college to become a pivotal institution in the American republic, its spokesmen had to avoid both religious and political indoctrination, had to engage and retool local traditions without indulging parochialism, had to convince a skeptical public that unencumbered study was a necessity rather than a privilege. How did the American college shift from an uncertain commodity in the American marketplace to a constructive ingredient of republican civic virtue?

The nineteenth-century college became a pivotal device in a major cultural shift of this period by yoking together two disparate traditions. First, its spokesmen reformulated a highly competitive, evangelical tradition into a consciously "educational" ide-

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ology that transcended denominational boundaries. Second, commentators with Whiggish political values included the college into their ideological matrix. These values favored hierarchical organizations, legalistic compromise, and a gradual process of constitutional change. In spite of diverse regional variations, the antebellum college drew from both of these traditions to promote an idealized educated citizen, inspired by national republican values yet rooted in locally resonant priorities. The new tradition was thought to be distinctively voluntary, adaptive yet disciplined, factually informed yet inquiring, socially engaged yet undemogogic.[3] The new collegiate ideal both arose out of and promoted this American voluntary tradition, while resisting any sharp generic or dogmatic inscriptions about antebellum colleges or college life.

To explore this transition, this essay will examine several episodes involving "collegiate values" in the antebellum period. First, the essay establishes a broad economic context within which any college, denominational or otherwise, necessarily had to compete. Next, the peculiar pressures of the antebellum period, I am assuming, arose more clearly in the cases of newly founded institutions rather than those with explicit denominational inheritances. Hence the case of Girard College and its novel rationale of civic production. How the prevalent denominational colleges dealt with such an alternative can be explored by examining resonant episodes of the period but from a newly critical stance. In particular, the often-studied Dartmouth College case (1816-19) and the equally familiar Yale Report (1828) played an important role in demonstrating how the denominational college began its own reconstruction and accommodation of new secular arguments about advanced instruction. Out of an intensive economic and ideological competition a transformed sense of the American college and its republican commitments arose by mid-century.[4]

II

Alongside official addresses of the nation's leadership and recent speeches of the U.S. Congress, the *National Intelligencer*, which became Washington D.C.'s self-proclaimed newspaper of record, also filled its pages with random advertisements of equal importance to the antebellum national readership: steamship schedules and rates; rewards for runaway slaves; legal notices of land transfers and equity actions; obituaries; special cargoes (plows, fodder, etc); lottery announcements; and of course, especially in August and September before classes began, school promotions—seminaries, medical departments, academies, tutorials, and colleges. Georgetown College in the nation's capital, for example, boasted its "university" status, under boldface headings, like "Georgetown College" with no sense of incongruity. Roman Catholic Georgetown underscored its commercial pitch by trumpeting its 1815 charter from the U.S. Congress and its receptivity to non-Catholic students. By the 1830s the American college had become an attractive, though imprecise, commercial value, aggressively competing for a special discretionary priority among American consumers.[5] The antebellum "college" in America had not yet achieved a distinctive generic meaning and consequently was regularly overextended by multiple, even contradictory, claims.

The founding rationale of Girard College illuminates one of the original strands of this emerging collegiate identity. The Girard case demonstrates not only the problematic meaning of "college" itself but also the conceptual pressures on such institutions to broaden their appeal beyond a traditional, sectarian service.[6] On July 4, 1833, the *National Intelligencer* published Nicholas Biddle's address at the dedication of Girard College in Philadelphia. Biddle assured his listeners that out of the beneficence of Stephen Girard, self-described Philadelphia "Merchant and Mariner," would rise, "the spirit which may more influence the destiny of ourselves and our children than all else the world now contains.... It is that knowledge, which trampling down in its progress the dominion of brutal force and giving to intellect its just ascendancy, has at length become the master power of the world." Biddle associated the multiplying example of Girard's philanthropy and moral discipline with the "safety" of the republic and "the public spirit of community at once enlightened and generous."[7] The inaugural speech was nationally propitious not only for its timing and association with the origins of the American Republic but also for other associations made explicit by Biddle's address. The force of Biddle's view articulated values which would embed themselves in the ubiquitous voluntary associations of the period and which would dramatically affect all institutions shaped by American Whig culture, most especially colleges.[8]

Several features of Girard's benevolence made it both extraordinary and problematic for a democratic republic. The sheer amount of money involved—two million dollars—provided in a stroke an endowment that exceeded the sum of all other American colleges.[9] The beneficence projected an image of cultural and architectural influence commensurate with values of Greek culture and polity. The school would be spatially as well as fiscally autonomous. All activities of schooling and residence were contained, according to Girard's will, within a single institution. If further guarantees of endurance were required, Nicholas Biddle, the chairman of the college's Board of Trustees, served as the President of the Bank of the United States. Biddle's stewardship of the new college would have also suggested to the Bank's Jacksonian critics an expansion of Whig elitism in the nation's commerce and republican values.[10] At issue quickly was the basic public benefit to the republic of a new institution—a "college"—that did not directly serve all of the people. Its endowment and implicit durability as well as its sponsoring elite made Girard's school unique among American institutions at that time.[11]

Least remarkable at the time—but surprising from a twentieth century viewpoint—was its appropriation of the term, "college," for the instruction of orphans of district school age. Indeed, Girard's will had specified poor white male orphans between the ages of six and ten. Girard had insisted that the school was neither to be an almshouse nor a charity school but a "college." It would provide the various branches of sound education in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, survey-ing, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, and the French and Spanish languages. The founder's only caveats opposed uniform dress and excessive stress on Greek and Latin. In his will Girard also incorporated the stipulation that "no ecclesiastic, missionary or minister of any sect whatsoever" should have any capacity in his institution.[12] The result would embrace "everything necessary to form a well-educated man," producing in the process an institution which will be "the civil West Point of the country."[13]

Significantly, Biddle professed an admiration, not for Girard's administrative specifications, but for his enlarged spirit of benevolent, public stewardship, the centerpiece of antebellum Whig republicanism.[14] This notion of stewardship, in particular defined both the conceptual breadth of collegiate expectation and the elasticity of the word, "college," for the antebellum period. For Girard the term contained no implications for subject sorting or institutional rank; it connoted nothing of the historic, British meanings of college, namely, a collection of youthful students studying beyond basic levels or even a residence hall where such students lived; it implied no official or legal degree-granting authority. Its practical aims were to have fatherless youth trained for employment by ages fourteen to eighteen. However, its profound ("irradiating") social impact followed from the example-setting voluntarism of Girard and the dynamic consequences of a morally informed educational purpose.[15] This dynamic of voluntarism yoked to an expansive Whig republicanism, not some generic blueprint of a "college," formed the common ground that Girard College shared with virtually all other social and cultural institutions of the antebellum period. Whig republican institutions, like most antebellum colleges, stressed the benevolent esprit—they called it "character"—which ideally softened the sharp, self-interested edges of elitism and selectivity associated with new antebellum institutions.[16]

This voluntary standard, so rooted in denominational didactics and practice, nevertheless had shed much of its pointedly denominational aspects during the antebellum period. Still, it retained a secularized missionary fervor, a didactic "non-denominational" message, an espoused preference for the indirect persuasion of example, and a substitution of civic benevolence for sectarian piety. The residuary inheritance of antebellum voluntarism thus retained older features of religious evangelism in its basic structure and in its increasingly widespread educational and political ventures, while contending with other more practical and mundane concerns.[17] However adamant Girard's stipulation against direct denominational proselytizing, his effort to internalize the moral compass of civic behavior was but a variant on an older process of evangelical conversion. His Girard College demonstrated the degree to which a diluted evangelism had become a part of America's cultural fabric by the 1830s. The novelty of antebellum voluntarism like Girard's lay with the effort to disseminate a new republican civility through schools rather than by the narrow didacticism of the pulpit. The historic achievement of this new voluntarism was the substitution of a "non-denominational" moral code for an older dogmatic sectarianism and its adoption even by consciously denominational colleges.

Girard College represented a bold form of this new Whig republicanism by proposing a public service unallied with any denomination. Since most education and especially antebellum colleges had been driven by a denominational elan, how representative was Girard's school? It is essential to recognize the ongoing power of America's evangelical tradition here without becoming overly distracted by its denominational roots. Each denomination and each denominational college confronted the incontestable fact of vigorous and often wasteful competition with each other in the antebellum period. Several denominations made a post-Revolutionary effort to broaden the aegis of the Christian religion to the new Republic as a whole.[18] The peculiar antebellum organizations that followed—"the Voluntary System"—even when they resulted in a less broad denominational consciousness, paralleled non-sectarian outreaches like Girard's. Only in the most narrow sense was this transformation of all antebellum schooling a secularization of religious indoctrination. Rather, it represented a reworking of older evangelical practices into a distinctively republican institutional tradition, epitomized by the ubiquitous voluntary organizations of the antebellum period. Both denominational and non-denominational colleges evinced a new (overstated) voluntarism like Girard's that would appear to accommodate the competitive spirit of America's antebellum republic.

The antebellum "college" encompassed schools instructing youth from ages anywhere between six and thirty. Its curricular offerings varied substantively, from the sacred to the profane, depending on region and local priorities. Many were consciously and aggressively denominational, while others, like both Girard College and the University of Virginia, explicitly distanced themselves from religious association. Nearly all had fiscal problems that sometimes compelled them to close their doors, often reopening, sometimes under new names. These mercurial economics forced more than one, like Transylvania University in Kentucky, to be transferred successively to competing Protestant denominations or, in effect, to suffer the tenuousness of many American businesses.[19] Between 1800 and 1860 their student bodies fluctuated from several dozen to several hundred. Few schools could afford to be so selective that they achieved associations with definable elites; most adopted ringing statements of standards and purpose, then sought to fill their classrooms with students of widely different preparations.[20]

III

Historians have often overcompensated for this apparent disorder by latching on to a few dramatic figures and special episodes to impose a heroically thematic but decontextualized order to American collegiate history. The historical variety of collegiate "models" has promoted an entire literature to characterize the pre-Civil War patterns as "disordered."[21] Both legal and denominational history have given most scholars of the American college an overly precise, that is, oversimplified, categorical framework for the antebellum period. The most powerful legal definition of the early republican college in America has emanated from the Supreme Court decision known as the Dartmouth College Case (1819), which clarified the distinction between a "public" and a "private" corporation. However, like Girard's legacy, the court decision said more about the problematic transition of an eighteenth-century denominational college into its nineteenth-century mode of non-denominational voluntarism than it did a new "private" tradition of collegiate operation.

The Dartmouth College case arose in 1816 when William Plumer, the New Hampshire governor and political associate of Thomas Jefferson, supported a revision of Dartmouth's collegiate charter that had been awarded by the British king via his colonial assembly in 1769. The college president, John Wheelock, son of the school's founder, had clashed with his trustees in several staff appointments and curricular changes. The trustees' opposition implicitly raised questions about how responsive and adaptable a college should be to the public. Direct accountability to politically elected leaders struck both the Governor and Dartmouth's president as particularly desirable and civic in America's post-revolutionary period. But the royal charter, the college's trustees retorted, represented a special brand of public autonomy, attuned to but not whiplashed by the political whims of party and faction. From the trustees' viewpoint, a college was a privately-held charity, influential in its community but not directly answerable to its leadership.

In actual fact, the antebellum fears of any institution—educational, commercial or otherwise—becoming distinctly "private," that is, a self-perpetuating monopoly, raised the specter of monarchical exploitation that the Revolution was thought to have redressed. Jefferson himself had taken great pains to specify how "public" universities in a democracy must remain subordinate and politically accountable to the elected representatives of the people.[22] Similarly concerned, the New Hampshire legislature passed a formal revision of the colonial charter giving the Governor special powers to appoint trustee and overseers for the college, which was thus construed as a state and civic rather than an eleemosynary institution. The new law also defined the school as a university and gave it legal authority over the management of Dartmouth's property holdings and resources. For a time, with the trustees resisting, Dartmouth College and Dartmouth University operated side by side.

The Dartmouth trustees, who were Congregationalist in religion and Federalist in politics, appealed to the New Hampshire Supreme Court which upheld the new charter's revision. This new decision considered Dartmouth the only college in the state and hence a state institution. The trustees appealed the state decision to the U.S. Supreme Court to recover their property and hired the eminent Dartmouth alumnus and future Whig, Daniel Webster, to defend them. The Supreme Court's decision reversed the state legislative and judicial judgement; it upheld the trustees and the original colonial charter on the grounds that "no state shall pass any ... law impairing the obligation of contracts." By this precedent, the chartered American college became a private, charitable corporation in a decidedly proto-Whig political tradition, and corporate contracts were held inviolate from direct state or public interference, a distancing from Jeffersonian institutional assumptions.[23] The ownership of the college was firmly set with the trustees. The Supreme Court's decision also presaged a new relationship between colleges and the state. However, the Court decision left the "public" responsibility of such "private" institutions an unsettled issue.

The ultimate importance of the Dartmouth College case rested with later interpretations of a legal charter for American business. When promulgated, the Dartmouth case only affected voluntarism in so far as it formalized organizational options implicit within this tradition. The case did not, as Frederick Rudolph has suggested, release a lengthy string of autonomous colleges, while subordinating state power to communal rights and putting the college beyond public passions.[24] A few subsequent colleges, most with eighteenth-century roots (e.g. Harvard, Union College, University of Maryland, and Bowdoin College), explicitly used the Dartmouth precedent in analogous struggles, but many newer nineteenth-century college founders evinced little knowledge or explicit encouragement from the Dartmouth legal precedent.[25] Colin Burke has persuasively argued that some states continued to restrict the role and place of private colleges and charitable institutions, and, on their part, private colleges like Bowdoin, University of Pennsylvania, Amherst, Williams, and Columbia, continued to petition states for funds though with declining success.[26] More important, the case had little import for the Southern states and some Northern ones, like New York, which sustained restrictive statutes against private endowments like colleges. New England's distinctive cultural and economic dynamics, by contrast, gave rise to private corporations and private colleges, creating a regional hub of Boston. That city thus integrated new fiscal and cultural powers, which advanced learning aggressively and would put Boston in a singularly advantageous position at the end of the nineteenth-century.[27]

In essence, the Dartmouth College case gave legal expression to a powerful intellectual tension concerning organizational voluntarism, most pronounced in New England and its Midwestern satellites with Congregational inheritances.[28] The competitions of early nineteenth-century life in America made individual initiatives increasingly problematic, particularly in so far as sharp practices of individuals or single-interested groups drove fissures into the neighborly well-being of a cohesive community. Embedded in both political oratory and evangelical revivalism, antebellum voluntarism channeled itself into the operations of the American college and necessitated tangible evidence that such institutions benefited the public. From the collegiate viewpoint, the crucial instrument of power had to be either internal, variously called moral or pietistic in the nineteenth century, or some external, paternalist monitor, like the state or its representatives.[29] The Dartmouth College case did not reduce the elasticity of the college as a voluntary organization but rather made social outreach a promotional feature of all the actual colleges founded after the Dartmouth College case, including Girard's model of civic stewardship.[30]

The immediate, historic significance of the Dartmouth College case was not its distinction between public versus private colleges, but rather the ongoing legitimation of contentious claims that affected all antebellum institutions. The court actually engineered a translation of the Dartmouth trustees' Congregational tradition into Daniel Webster's nascent Whig values. It also permitted Webster's version to triumph over elected state politicians. But even more, the Dartmouth College case sustained the problematic nature of the college by publicizing two legitimate but competing "public" traditions: the college as an charitable creation and the college as politically-attuned service. The court decision did little to settle how colleges could guarantee a different brand of leadership while avoiding the divisive partisanship of denominations and political factions. The decision did not formalize Whig biases on behalf of property owners and a weakened governing executive, so much as it continued the conundrum about the kind of education that a republic needed. Exactly how did college training benefit a republic and its leaders?

Subsequently, state governments would assume a more detached role in the face of citizens' legitimate organizational ventures, but these new processes emerged slowly, largely out of economic considerations, not with the thunderclap of a courtroom decision. States willingly chartered new schools and colleges but regularly resisted any responsibility for financial support. As historian John Whitehead has noted, Dartmouth's trustees requested that the state legislature pay their legal costs, after supposedly winning a clear distinction between the public and private sectors. Indeed Dartmouth like many other financially strapped "private" colleges continued to appeal for state support throughout the antebellum period, sometimes offering state representation on the trustee board in exchange.[31] Few legal scholars relied on the public/private distinction in subsequent pre-Civil War arguments, precisely because the intent of those arguments was to distinguish two brands of "public" organization: one charitable, dominated by citizens' voluntary associations and the other civil, dominated by state organization, like Jefferson's conception of a state university.[32] Neither connoted "private" in any twentieth-century sense.

IV

Not only did antebellum colleges resist easy categorization as "public" or "private," but most emphatically resisted identification as local or sectarian (while cultivating both and becoming denominationally affiliated). For instance, Wesleyan University's charter prohibited restrictions against any other denomination in spite of its explicitly Methodist identity. Initially, various denominations were represented on any number of trustee boards and in their student populations. Similarly, Georgetown University, the oldest Roman Catholic college in the United States (f. 1789), admitted into their earliest classes all denominations and advertised the point boastfully through the 1830s. For the first three decades of the nineteenth century, one-quarter to one-third of Georgetown's student body were non-Catholic. While Wesleyan and Georgetown relied substantively in their early years on local benefactors, both schools worked from the outset to reach interdenominational audiences at regional, national and even international levels.[33]

In spite of varied efforts to project a distinctive autonomy, antebellum colleges did not become isolated communities. This period publicized images of institutions with fences and walls separating town and gown, residential dorms, refectories and collegiate chapels on a definable "campus." Despite this physical autonomy, a college often connected itself organizationally with broader, translocal, denominational networks. Early on, it became clear that local resources were insufficient to sustain not only colleges but also many other educational levels beyond the common school: academies, female seminaries, normal schools, and literary institutes.[34] Financial stability necessitated continual outreach, and the success of such enterprises often resulted in spawning more intensive competition. Wesleyan, for example, cultivated Methodist donors in Boston until one of these benefactors decided to found Boston University in 1869. This Boston competitor siphoned off Wesleyan's New England donations and forced it to shift its constituency to New York City friends and alumni.[35] Similarly, Randolph-Macon College in Virginia originally anticipated wide support from several Methodist conferences, but the competition from Pennsylvania's Dickinson College (f. 1783) eroded its earlier support from the Baltimore Conference. Further, the creation of Emory (f. 1836) in Georgia, narrowed Randolph-Macon's geographical base to central and southern Virginia and parts of North Carolina.[36] Changes in the network stabilized for attracting funds and students often resulted in a geographical constriction of the meaning of "college community."

The tension between grand vision and local realities during the antebellum period became clearly expressed in an oil portrait of New York University, founded in 1831 in the heart of the nation's emergent commercial metropolis. One of the first members of the faculty, artist/inventor Samuel F. B. Morse, depicted his newborn University as an ancient Gothic oasis in an idyllic Tuscan landscape. The overstated historic roots of his conception projected the image of autonomy, stability, and safety in a natural countryside that fit easily into many national or cultural canons. The connotations of composure and isolated self-sufficiency required standards of conception and technique that transcended not only local but also American boundaries. And in spite of ambitious national and international promotions, within a few short years New York University was scrambling for its financial life and sharing the mercurial history of its antebellum collegiate counterparts.[37]

The history of most antebellum colleges reflected regular fluctuations of money and student enrollment. The universal fact of collegiate life was competition for a modest pool of basically trained youth that required active solicitation and constant cultivation.[38] Virtually all colleges consciously imitated the recruitment and endowment campaigns pioneered in the early nineteenth century by itinerant college agents. The Congregational network, which eventually formed itself into the American Education Society, operated out of Andover Theological Seminary (f. 1808) and extended to college and universities in the South and Midwest.[39] Few ministers rode circuit, preaching the gospel of Christ alone. Most were empowered to solicit funds for various institutions, to sell perpetual scholarships to substantial donors, to discount or waive tuition to promising but impoverished youth, and to advertise the distinctive merits of "non-denominational" schools without abrogating their continuing denominational ties.[40] These networks differentiated eighteenth- from nineteenth-century colleges, the difference between "surprising," that is, unplanned versus engineered evangelical traditions.

However calculated these collegiate dynamics were, their voluntary mandates make them appear in retrospect as encompassing rather than as exclusive and differentiating. It was as if both institutions and individuals came into their respective identities by their network of associations rather than by their distinctive attributes or achievements. Princeton, for example, counted an expanding network of schools in its Southern outreach and made minor distinctions between academies and colleges. Not only did these institutions serve as feeder schools, however loosely affiliated with Princeton, but their networks also served to bolster Presbyterian congregations and at times the salaries and careers of ministers.[41] The career of Robert Baird (1798-1863) illuminates the trajectory of these loosely connected but highly efficient voluntary networks. Born in western Pennsylvania, Baird attended first a local Uniontown (Pa.) academy, then for several terms Washington and Jefferson Colleges. Though degreeless, he had sufficient preparation for entering and graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary (f. 1812)[42] in 1822. His subsequent ministerial work led him to the principalship of the Princeton Academy, civic work in the 1820s to create the first New Jersey public school system, service as general agent for the American Sunday School Union, and international agent in Paris and Rome for the American and Foreign Christian Union, which promoted temperance and educational reforms world-wide. Virtually none of his positions were distinctly specialized or thought to be progressive advancements but rather mixed charitable and civic work, a harmonizing standard of stewardship common to both local and national organizational leadership.[43]

One of the corollary features of antebellum voluntarism was its distinctive organizational structure, particularly its overlapping informal networks. Promoting temperance in a particular locale did not suggest it ranked ahead of collegiate solicitation. Like newspaper advertisements, local priorities shaped the precedence among reform enterprises. Increasingly, a particular college's interests shared the social saddle-bag of the American evangelist with other worthy causes. But emphatically regional concerns mixed kaleidoscopically with other worthy issues connected with constructing a Republican, Christian commonwealth.[44]

Within the 1801 Plan of Union forged by the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, churchmen created voluntary organizations of a national scope. Their intention was to project their special brand of Protestantism and make it coincident with the malleable, local voluntary associations still developing in the East and, more important, about to develop in the West. In 1843 the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West (SPCTEW) began its work, at the center of which was funneling small-donor support and didactic, revivalistic-oriented printed matter across the trans-Appalachian West. What resources this East Coast network generated would be channeled to select Western colleges. By 1874, when the organization dissolved, the SPCTEW had buttressed twenty-six colleges and provided a model for competing Baptist and Methodist organizations.[45] The basic voluntary mode of organization extended to kindred associations, like the American Tract Society, the Sunday School Union, and the American Bible Society, which made their mark powerfully, though indirectly, on the collegiate enterprise.[46] Officials of these organizations were generally themselves college graduates and were sought out, not only by college presidents for collegiate donations but for advice and arbitration of knotty inter-denominational collegiate disputes. Thus, one of the crucial attractions of the voluntary tradition was the mixture of moral coercion and persuasion within a personalized, informal style, as if knotty issues could still be settled short of contentious, political confrontations.

Antebellum colleges, originating from select denominational roots, local resources and merchant capitalists, nevertheless participated in broader, voluntary networks that clarified a common reality of collegiate culture: collegiate survival could not depend for long on local resources alone.[47] Even among denominations, like the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Disciples of Christ, who came late to the value of advanced instruction, college leadership resulted in a permanent tension between a college's moral goals and the practical, worldly concerns of the college's business patrons. Randolph Macon College (f. 1830) was one of some 229 schools founded by the Methodists before 1860, all but ten after 1830, but it avoided creating a theology professorship and wholly Methodist trustee board in order to obtain a charter from the Virginia state legislature.[48] Still, the individuals with regional connections were often precisely those who boosted local values, since their status in local elites often depended directly on their ability to command influence and money from outside a given local community.[49] Similarly Stephen Girard whose "local" college contributed to Philadelphia pride, not only drew upon his own international experience but projected with his philanthropy an unspecified, broader implication for a new American republic. In these features Girard provided a two-way, local-national trajectory for antebellum collegiate voluntarism, imitated even by his nemesis, the ubiquitous denominational college.

Unmistakably regional rather than local or national boundaries became the forceful parameters of the antebellum college in America.[50] Early on New England began to develop highly restrictive admissions standards, whereas in the South and Midwest before the Civil War institutional survival necessitated fairly unrestrictive policies with respect to age or previous schooling. Oberlin College (f. 1831) in Ohio, for example, admitted literally hundreds of students and was noted for the earliest admission of both women and blacks to collegiate instruction. However, within Oberlin's aegis there were multiple departments, accommodating students in primary and "normal" (i.e., teacher-preparatory) instructional groupings as well as in the college and theological seminary. Most institutions outside the Northeast, as Colin Burke has compellingly demonstrated, were scaled-down versions of Oberlin.[51] High tuitions in the East compounded the expense of city residence, permitting some coastal colleges to charge three times the costs of instruction outside New England.[52] In the Midwest and South, fiscal anxiety, student access, and evangelical piety kept tuition low.[53]

In large part, colleges with expansive preparatory and collegiate departments appeared in the Midwest and South in sparsely or recently settled areas, particularly where the New England model of the state-supported common school had not yet penetrated. The varied levels of "collegiate instruction" responded to all comers, averaging about twenty students at their collegiate level, when their Eastern counterparts enrolled up to 400 students. With such a student pool, Eastern colleges early on could dispense with preparatory classes, and a project a distinctive collegiate identity.

Those communities that could not raise sufficient funds, even using a particular denominational network, responded with an adaptive, multipurpose academy. Such schools were often the taproot of later colleges.[54] Amherst Academy, for example, founded in 1814 as a coeducational school, led within a decade to the founding of an exclusively male classical college with a state charter. Still, Amherst's early curriculum resembled the collegiate affinities of many academies, and one of its early presidents, Edward Hitchcock, assumed the collegiate leadership with theological rather than regular collegiate training. Probably more important than any degree was Hitchcock's experience as principal of nearby Deerfield Academy and as a self-taught geologist.[55]

The distinction between academy and college became sharper as the nineteenth century wore on, a function first of age grouping, then curricular organization, and ultimately socio-cultural distinctions. In *The National Intelligencer* (2 November 1833) the flourishing Brookville (Md.) Academy publicized its refusal to admit students over seventeen, while a month earlier the same newspaper printed the University of Virginia's announcement of a cutoff age of no younger than sixteen. Though academies and colleges often offered complementary studies, subjects in science, mathematics, language, and philosophy had begun to receive greater specification at institutions striving for university status in these years.

Until the sharpening of North-South division after the 1830s, college leaders strove to reach out beyond their regional boundaries. Physical traffic moved constantly between the two regions, in many ways heightening rather than breaking down regional consciousness of distinctive cultures. By midcentury, however, the South had foregone an earlier aspiration to create expansive state-supported public school systems modeled on Massachusetts' example. The rising dichotomy between Cavalier and Yankee compelled the South to rely more heavily upon elitist support for both private academies and denominational colleges as well as their public universities, subordinating earlier Southern commitments to tax-supported public schools.[56]

For the first half of the nineteenth century and later, the American college lacked any single, formal standard of structure or operation; rather, it fluctuated competitively between local dynamics and regional pressures, often of a denominational sort. In the competition for students and donors, overstated goals and ambitions abounded, masking the strategic force of local elites and sectarian priorities. In the process of survival, schools depended on localities and denominations in spite of lofty republican, even national, aspirations. At any given point a college could strum multiple chords to woo students, trustees, or financial resources. And at times, with minimal regard to educational theory, different institutions transformed themselves, from academy to college, from local to regional, from sectarian to functioning non-denominational institutions, all within Girard's original "college" conception of an agency converting youth to responsible citizenship, a voluntary venture in civic evangelism.

V

In this erratic and fluctuating context, Yale College emerged as distinct, not simply for amassing the largest student body before the Civil War,[57] but for aggrandizing the meaning of the antebellum college itself. In the justly touted Yale Report of 1828, three college faculty members—the president, Reverend Jeremiah Day, its distinguished scientist, Professor Benjamin Silliman and its classicist, Professor James L. Kingsley—posed an argument that consciously refashioned a merger of the school's inherited evangelical values with the competitive demands of the day. Like virtually all other antebellum colleges, the coiners of the Yale argument had to explain to their several constituencies how the moral mantle handed down to them from their Congregational founders would survive in a world that was incompletely Congregational. In addition, they needed to explain why anyone should bother to commit himself to two to four years of costly study, when the jobs and careers of America's economy could be had and exploited with little more than the basic instruction of the district school.

The Yale Report addressed the dilemmas of their community's moral and secular culture with an argument that won the allegiances of many colleges in vastly different circumstances. Their *apologia* began with a disarming admission that colleges must not offer a "blind opposition to salutary reform" but rather must be adaptable "to the spirit and wants of the age." Their commitment needed to avoid rigid defensiveness and to adhere "to some of its original features...from a higher principle." Every institution, it suggested expansively, should re-examine its original purpose and should entertain the possibility of breaking up its older system. Most important, they implicitly asked, how much of an inherited brand of eighteenth century instruction could antebellum Yale condone in the nineteenth?

The Yale Report also confronted charges that antebellum Yale housed elitist pretensions, incompatible with republican values. Its argument took the high road and insisted no college could gear itself to those whose ambitions concentrated on political leadership or specific vocational skills. "In this country, where offices are accessible to all who are qualified for them, superior intellectual attainments ought not to be confined to any description of persons." In actual fact, like most New England colleges, Yale graduates throughout the first half of the nineteenth century were not all wealthy. One-third to nearly one-half of its students graduated at age twenty-three or older.[58] Many of these "mature" students, originating from New England's poorer hill country villages with ministerial aspirations, completed their college study only after delays and disruptions of their educations. Many left college to teach common school or academies and required charitable assistance to finish; others pursued a string of cul-de-sac jobs before returning to study with substantially younger classmates. The Yale Report thus made a civic virtue out of the widely shared age mix of college students rather than probing the implied pedagogical problems.[59]

Yale's defensive protestations against elitism only heightened the problematic character of collegiate service and worth. If it were so completely adaptable to the spirit of the age, how could anyone discern whether or not the college was actually meeting its obligations? Who or what locale would determine the adjudicating "spirit of the age?" Yale established two priorities for its collegiate purpose: first, everyone must receive "thorough education" through the cultivation of a discipline and "furniture of the mind." Second, education would be "inculcated" by "daily and vigorous exercise" and the subjects taught would best "fix attention, directing the train of thought, analyzing a subject proposed for investigation." These claims and their institutional applications resisted any sharp prediction of behavioral or vocational results; their conceptual authority, like that of evangelism itself, lay primarily within each individual's disposition.[60]

Throughout, the Yale Report stressed the outcomes of order and stability in training the faculties with words like "arranging," "balancing," "guiding," "controlling," "directing," "fixing the attention," "establishing the tone." The central terms revealed, perhaps unconsciously, a concern about the actual turmoil and riot that characterized so much of student life in the antebellum college, exacerbated by the melange of youth and young adults.[61] Ultimately, collegiate education would throw the individual, so the Report argued, on the resources of his own mind, resulting ideally in the "sublimest efforts of genius." The diffusion of knowledge, so central to Jefferson's eighteenth-century educational values, had been consciously replaced with "inculcation," which assumed an internalization of both method and information, in its way, the production of a civic conversion.

If "inculcation" represented a non-denominational modification of Yale's eighteenth-century support of revivalism, the Yale Report went on to claim a new nineteenth-century, evangelical space. Collegiate knowledge, it argued, was unlike professional learning; it was transferable and ultimately realized only later in specific local communities. Professional knowledge and occupational training, which so many colleges were pressured to adopt, belonged to training in situ, a special vocational apprenticeship adapted exclusively to a particular geographical locus; it was a finished education, whereas the conclusion of a college education resulted in a "commencement," a beginning of long-term work prospects. A college education concerned itself with foundations and discipline, was local without becoming parochial, and most important, should precede professional instruction, lest learning result in rigidity, self-serving myopia or "extravagance." The college continued its role as a quasi-moral institution without adopting any distinct sectarianism (whatever its Congregational inheritances) and, in the process, laid claim to education more basic than training in law, medicine, ministry, public school teaching, or business.[62]

But, of course, such assertions were meaningless without some specification about how, compared with other schools, the college would achieve its goals. The heart of collegiate discipline, as many educators had already insisted, was the classics. "Should the time come," antebellum defenders of the classics intoned, "when Latin and Greek should be banished from our Universities, and the study of Cicero and Demosthenes, of Homer and Virgil, should be considered unnecessary for the formation of a scholar, we should regard mankind as fast sinking into absolute barbarism, and the gloom of mental darkness as likely to increase until it should become universal."[63] Educational backsliding followed a perilously similar course to moral backsliding. The kinds of control that colleges produced were ideally not dogmatically imposed. The sanctions of a collegiate community were thought to be most instructive when natural, informal, and indirect; in a word, voluntary.

The Yale Report synthesized much of an inherited educational wisdom by reaffirming the classics not only as foundational but as a concrete means for inculcating moral character without resorting to any denominational or sectarian interpretation of piety. The deference to the classics was not an uncritical deference to tradition or conservative biases; rather it reflected a cultural anxiety about guaranteeing constructive changes which educators could not assess precisely or technically. The classics substituted for an older Biblical *lingua franca* and became the educational and linguistic code of a new republican, educated elite before the Civil War. The emerging importance of the classics did not connote a relaxation of denominational fervor but rather a reformulation of it into a wider republican sphere.[64]

Of course, the promulgation of the Yale Report did not substantively interfere with the rising importance of mathematics, science, literature, philosophy, or even consciously vocational training, which had already reduced the doctrinal orientation of Yale's eighteenth-century instruction.[65] Colleges continued to fluctuate between harsh times and flush times throughout the period, while the Yale Report offered a curricular and organizational priority that would not have been possible a generation earlier and was indeed aggressively new in 1828. At Yale itself the Report did not result in a dogged entrenchment of the classics. The college gradually modified its classical requirements to make way for advanced mathematics, experimental science, and history. These curricular emphases emerged more as a consequence of the well-trained individuals whom President Jeremiah Day and his nineteenth-century successors hired than any curricular or "market" policy.[66]

The intellectual influence of the Report spread through the work of Yale's graduates, whose missionary pattern continued in an evangelical vein, whether carried by ministerial alumni or not. At the time of the Report's publication, Yale had the largest enrollment in the country (c 250), when large colleges averaged 150 students. Yale also had the largest living and most geographically dispersed alumni, giving it the most legitimate claim to a national constituency. In addition, many of its faculty produced widely-used textbooks, codifying subjects and methodologies and associated Yale with their disseminated reputations. In 1840 Yale and Princeton graduates filled many of the presidencies of American colleges. The so-called Yale Band founded colleges across the Midwest, like Beloit College in Wisconsin, Illinois College in Illinois or Depauw in Indiana, Berea College in Kentucky, Miami in Ohio, and Hobart in New York. Some of these satellite schools explicitly cited the Yale Report in their college brochures.[67] But again, like their counterparts, their ability to deliver on the blueprint was a function of dynamics often beyond their control.[68] The Report's rhetorical and political value likely exceeded its service as a concrete administrative paradigm until late in the nineteenth century, particularly given the frequency of raucous and disorderly student behavior.[69] Still, the ingenuity of the Report's argument about a basic, principled discipline and (classical) furniture of the mind was widely disseminated and had much to do with the reconceptualization of the college's place in American society; it was hardly the conservative impediment to reform that has often been claimed.[70]

The Yale Report's key dilemma remained the connection between education and its civic promises; it never really clarified how its classical offerings could guarantee the foundational equipment for varied students' civic life and future work. Its central problem was the common dilemma of the antebellum period, determining the meaning of college and its fit in the educational panoply. Given the range of options, Yale's insistence that the college must be viewed as a family with the president and teachers as substitute parents took risks by using an established congregational metaphor. In most Calvinist denominations the congregation, the ultimate device for probing spiritual matters, was a special moral entity, and Calvinist ministers used familial metaphors to explain the organic relationship of members to church. However, given the character of the antebellum college, the usurpation of the familial mantle, not only as metaphor but as practice, had to be an exercise in risk-taking. Such familial authority must have come more easily to colleges like Girard with students not yet in their teens. For Yale, admitting students from ages fourteen through twenty-three, familial deference had to be not only jarring but inappropriate to Yale's espoused goals of training self-possessed and morally-informed citizens.

The very diversity, diffuseness, and fragmentation of the antebellum collegiate experience have distracted scholars from the cohering sense that an inculcated voluntarism provided to the shapers and practitioners of the nineteenth century collegiate tradition.[71] The thread that links most antebellum collegiate institutions, in spite of their variation, was the supra-denominational energy, which sought to influence, if not control, a new republican spirit in America. It was impossible to insist on dogmatic, denominational correctness in such a competition, especially among and between many Protestant sects. The coerced embrace of a modified doctrinal evangelism, which ministers themselves depicted as the "Voluntary Principle," served to extend many conceptual and traditional features of an older missionary fervor. However, once channeled toward an indeterminate public good, a major inheritance of the American Revolution, many denominations engineered a crucial sharing of power between churches and schools in an effort to "train up the character" of the next generation.

The competition for students and resources ironically led many colleges to a restrictive geographical scope at the very moment when their rhetoric and energies became centrifugal. Still, the powerful image of the autonomous, local college matched a new educational leadership that was, like Stephen Girard, more stewardly than ministerial. His civic example seemed to make the force of his money secondary; it illuminated the central instructional standard of the nineteenth century: the power of persuasion, rhetoric and example, that accepted ubiquitous differences of opinion and behavior but idealized a society of self-disciplined citizens, harmonized by their distinctly (Whiggish) republican commitments. This new civic religion became coincident with a collegiate voluntarism that simultaneously (and often contradictorily) promised both individualized morality and its institutionalized dissemination. Before the model of tax-based public schooling, the antebellum college carried the burden of that aspiration. Its antebellum years can be best understood as a spirited episode in promoting education as a special republican power before Americans had the institutional apparatus for achieving it.

NOTES

[1] The author wishes to express his sincere thanks to Professors James E. Scanlon and Roger Geiger for especially close and face-saving critiques of this essay in earlier drafts. Two anonymous readers of the *History of Higher Education Annual* also contributed substantively to this final version.

[2] Harvey Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century City* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

[3] Cf. Gregory H. Singleton, "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America," in *Victorian America*, ed. Daniel Walker Howe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 47-58. The career of Horace Mann, which moved from Whig politics to public schooling, concluded with the presidency of Antioch College. One can see in his writings as well as in the proceedings of major voluntary associations of the period, like the American Institute of Instruction (to which Mann and most other nineteenth-century educational leaders belonged), the process of shaping a general allegiance to voluntarism into generically distinct institutions like the American college. Cd. Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

[4] Cf. Jack C. Lane, "The Yale Report of 1828 and Liberal Education: A Neorepublican Manifesto," *History of Education Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 325-38. This article contributes constructively to a rejection of early interpretations that made the Report a conservative atavism but overstates the historical agency of the Report on both American college and American culture.

[5] *The National Intelligencer* (9 September 1835). For a collegiate history that should serve as a model of the historical genre, see Robert Emmett Curran, SJ, *The Bicentennial History of Georgetown University: Vol I, From Academy to University, 1789-1889* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1993).

The college had been founded in 1789 as the first Roman Catholic college in America and operated until 1815 without a charter. For the first several decades of the nineteenth century non-Catholic students variously comprised one-quarter to one-third of the student body.

[6] Thomas Bender, Peter D. Hall, Thomas Haskell and Paul H. Mattingly, "Institutionalization and Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *History of Education Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 449-72.

[7] *The National Intelligencer* (Wednesday, 10 July 1833). Due to stipulations in Girard's will as well as trustee interpretation of it, Girard College did not begin its actual operation until January, 1848, when it admitted 100 orphans. Within little more than a year its students numbered about 300. Most of these were assigned to a "preparatory" department (ages 6-10) while plans were afoot for intermediate (ages 10-14) and collegiate departments (14-18). Cf. Henry W. Arey, *The Girard College and Its Founder* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1854).

[8] See Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), esp. 182-84. Of course, de Tocqueville remarked extensively on the ubiquitous voluntary associations in *Democracy in America*, considering them major devices for countering divisive party organization in a democracy.

[9] Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 43-50, discusses antebellum endowments, stressing that most colleges thought themselves fortunate to have endowments whose interest covered the president's salary (usually averaging between $1500 and $2000). See also Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy and the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965). Girard fully expected his legacy would pay building costs as well as operational expenses. The will has been, in part, anthologized in Edgar Knight and Clifton Hall, eds., *Readings in American Educational History* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1951), 247-55.

[10] Bray Hammond, *Banking and Politics in the Jacksonian Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). The connotations of endurance and power were short-lived for the Bank, which was vetoed by President Jackson in 1830 and which only survived until 1836. In spite of its failure, the Bank served antebellum orators as a metaphor of centralized institutional power for well over a generation afterward. Even in Girard College, designed for orphans, crucial choices emerged by the late 1850s and early 1860s, which privileged some by permitting a small elite for the Collegiate Department, and sent the majority off into apprenticeship and the world of work. Cf. Louis Romano, "Manual and Industrial Education at Girard College, 1831-1865: An Era of American Educational Experimentation" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975), chap. 3.

[11] Until Colin Burke's path-breaking book (n. 9), the conventional wisdom of Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University* followed Donald Tewkesbury's argument that early nineteenth century colleges experienced an extraordinary pattern of "failure." Tewkesbury made his calculations based on the number of college charters awarded by state legislatures, without ever reflecting on how promotional and political such exercises were. In terms of colleges **actually founded and operative**—Burke's methodology—antebellum colleges experienced surprisingly little failure, however erratic their funding and administration. But these contextual features of varied resources meant that the "college" was not a functional, generic school even in the antebellum era.

Cf. Rudolph's *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), esp. chap. 1; Tewkesbury's *The Founding of Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University, 1932). See also Natalie Naylor's insightful "The Ante-Bellum College Movement: A Reappraisal of Tewksbury's Founding of American Colleges and Universities," *History of Education Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (Fall 1973): 261-74.

[12] Paul Monroe, ed., "Girard College," *Cyclopedia of Education*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 113. Girard College gradually assumed features more common to other colleges after the Civil War. The process by which its organization grew beyond service to youth between the ages of 6 and 10 and reworded Stephen Girard's original will is detailed in Romano, "Girard College." See also Cheeseman Herrick, *History of Girard College* (Philadelphia: Girard College, 1927).

[13] *The National Intelligencer* (10 July 1833). In Girard's will he explicitly proclaimed the civic sweep of his educational goals: "I would have them ... by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitution, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars." "Girard College and Its Founder," *American Journal of Education* 27 (1897): 593-616.

[14] Ibid. Peter Hall makes the definitive argument about the place of trusts in college development, a major tenet of antebellum Whig politics as well as the nemesis of their Jacksonian opponents. See Peter D. Hall, *The Organization of American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), chap. 6.

[15] Girard explicitly charged the College "to instill into the minds of the scholars the *purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, *from inclination and habit*, evince *benevolence towards their fellow creatures*, and *a love of truth, sobriety and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer." Cf. Knight and Hall, eds., *Readings*, 254.

[16] Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*, 181-84; see also Hall, *The Organization of American Culture*, chap. 8. Put very simply, Jacksonian republicanism in the antebellum period favored publicly supported and locally rooted institutions, hence Jackson's antipathy to the Bank of the United States. The Whig republican tradition regularly stressed a translocal, if not national perspective, which accommodated a range of institutional genres, from the Bank of the United States to nascent bureaucracies like Horace Mann's Massachusetts public school system.

[17] Perry Miller, "The Voluntary Principle," in *The Life of the Mind in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1965), 40-43. For the broader educational co-option of the evangelical tradition, see Mattingly, *The Classless Profession* and David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

[18] Mark A. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768-1822* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[19] Daniel Boorstin, "Culture with Many Capitals: The Booster College," chap. 20 in *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).

[20] David Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in New England, 1760-1860* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

[21] Rudolph, *The American College and University*, chaps. 5-10.

[22] Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), esp. chap. 2.

[23] John Whitehead, *The Separation of College and State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), chap. 2; Jean Edward Smith, *John Marshall: Definer of a Nation* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 433-38; Paul Monroe, ed., "Dartmouth College Case," *Cyclopedia of Education*, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 252.

[24] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University*, 211.

[25] Cf. Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980), 148-49; Codman Hislop, *Eliphalet Nott* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), 201-202. I am obliged to Roger Geiger for noticing these Dartmouth College case connections.

[26] Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 41.

[27] Hall, *The Organization of American Culture*, esp. chap. 6. See also the same author's essay, "The Spirit of the Ordinance of 1787: Organizational Values, Voluntary Associations and Higher Education in Ohio, 1803-1830," in *"Schools and the Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged:" A History of Education in the Old Northwest, 1787-1880*, eds. Paul H. Mattingly and Edward W. Stevens (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Libraries, 1987), 97-114.

[28] Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America*, Book 1.

[29] Steven Novak, "The College in the Dartmouth College Case: A Reinterpretation," *The New England Quarterly* 47 (1975). Novak's defense of "pietistic" I would extend beyond his denominational meaning to include both individuals like Girard and Jefferson. Both of these individuals claimed a "moral discipline" in their versions of essential education, however different their meanings of "piety."

[30] Girard's will took more than a decade to be realized due to financial and interpretive problems. In virtually all of the major issues, the College's priorities gravitated ever more deeply into an explicitly Whig tradition. The first president, Alexander Dallas Bache, was sent to Europe to study educational precedents and returned to publish a powerful Whig-leaning report, *Education in Europe* (1839). Similarly when Girard trustees sought additional educational advice, they turned to Francis Lieber, who's *A Manual of Political Ethics* (1838) had a shaping influence on Whig institutional assumptions. Bache and Lieber went on to distinguished scholarly careers and were instrumental members of the Lazzaroni who successfully promoted the creation of the Smithsonian Institution and the American Social Science Association. Cf. Romano, "Girard College," chap 2; also Howe, *The Political Culture of American Whigs*, 86-87; Thomas Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), esp. 70-74.

[31] John Whitehead and Jurgen Herbst, "How to Think About the Dartmouth College Case," *History of Education Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 334.

[32] Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*.

[33] David Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Curran, *Georgetown University*. For the efficacy of Catholic collegiate training of Protestants, see Alexis de Tocqueville's reported 1831 conversation with Benjamin LaTrobe in *Alexis de Tocqueville: Journey to America*, ed. J. P. Meyer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 78.

[34] Many of such institutions reflected the history of the Troy Female Seminary, so well presented in Anne Firor Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872. *History of Education Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 3-46. Many of these comparable dynamics endured beyond the antebellum period. See W. Bruce Leslie, "Localism, Denominationalism and Institutional Strategies in Urbanizing America: Three Pennsylvania Colleges, 1870-1915," *History of Education Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1977): 235-56.

[35] Potts, *Wesleyan*, 127.

[36] Scanlon, *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), chap. 2. Later Trinity College, now Duke University, commandeered Randolph-Macon's North Carolina constituency, further reducing its geographical aegis.

[37] Theodore Jones, *New York University* (New York: New York University Press, 1933). For most of the nineteenth century, N.Y.U.'s student population remained the size of comparable colleges. In spite of initial plans to orient itself to the city, the school quickly reverted to the orbit of the Calvinist, Dutch Reformed denomination.

[38] Letter of George Ticknor to Thomas Jefferson, 28 March 1825, cited in *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, vol. 1, eds. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 268. "These [New England] colleges," Ticknor confided to Jefferson, "are now very

numerous and under one pretext or another, are constantly becoming more so. Competition, therefore, is growing more and more active among them, and all are endeavoring to find new and better modes of instruction with which to contend against their rivals."

[39] Natalie Naylor, "The Theological Seminary in the Configuration of American Higher Education: The Ante-Bellum Years," *History of Education Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1977): 17-30.

[40] David F. Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars*; Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, esp. chap. 2; Howard Miller, *The Revolutionary College* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 218-33.

[41] Miller, *The Revolutionary College* includes in Princeton's loose voluntary network, largely fostered by its graduates or members of the Presbyterian denomination, Liberty Hall [now Washington and Lee University] (1774) and Hampden-Sydney (1776) in Virginia, Dickinson College (1784) in Pennsylvania, Transylvania Seminary (1794), Centre College (1819) and Kentucky Academy in Kentucky, and Cumberland College (1823) in Tennessee. Miller persuasively argues that denominational proselytizing forced a break from an older late eighteenth century conception of religious harmony toward a tolerance of religious competition, which characterized the antebellum period.

Colin Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 35, has noted that schools in the loose "academy" genre increased from 3200 in 1840 to over 6700 by 1860, increases commensurate with primary school expansion.

[42] Miller, *The Revolutionary College*, 249; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 462.

[43] *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1967), 104. The western schools of the Presbyterian network tended to be more consciously and aggressively denominational but the generic character of its work takes on a peculiarly historical character. Although chartered as Jefferson College in 1802, Baird's alma mater was long known as Canonsburg Academy but retained a theological department recognized by the Virginia synod of the Presbyterian Church. Miller, *The Revolutionary College*, 250. See Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America* for Baird's contribution to the nineteenth century meaning of "voluntarism," 40-43; Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 859, uses Baird's writing to demonstrate how ingeniously American evangelicals adapted their religious style—"the activity, the bustle and the lay support of the churches"—to a larger American ethos. My thanks to Peter Wosh of N.Y.U. for drawing attention to Baird.

[44] In the antebellum period, primary education and collegiate instruction were equally pressing issues, often promoted by the same individuals. See Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*; Timothy Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality," *Journal of American History* 53 (March 1967): 679-95; Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*; Clifford Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960).

[45] James Findlay, "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *History of Education Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1977): 39. Among the colleges which received SPCTEW aid were Lane Theological Seminary as well as Marietta and Western Reserve Colleges in Ohio, Wabash College in Indiana, and Illinois College in Illinois. After the Civil War the organization also supported black Wilberforce College in Ohio.

[46] Peter Wosh, *Spreading the Word* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Anne Boylan, *Sunday School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

[47] Roger L. Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850-1890," *History of Higher Education Annual* 15 (1995), 51-92 [64 f]. In this extremely important essay Geiger provides extensive documentation on the number and variety of college-founding in this and the later nineteenth century. His "multipurpose" formula, however, obscures what, if anything, these multipurposed institutions had in common, culturally or historically. This essay prodded me to ask, whether

the prevalence of the classical curriculum or of evangelical influences didn't document deeper, structural continuities amidst the colleges' multipurposes. And also, exactly how did such shared patterns connect to the "market revolution" or political influences of the antebellum period?

[48] Scanlon, *Randolph Macon College*, 33. Scanlon has claimed that 34 of these schools were Methodist colleges, rapidly gaining on the Presbyterians with 49 and ahead of the Baptists with 25, the Congregationalists with 21, the Episcopalians with 11, and the Roman Catholics with 14. See also Jennings W. Wagoner, "Constraint and Variety in Virginia Higher Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Spring-Summer 1985): 181-193.

[49] Peter Wosh, *Spreading the Word*, esp. chap. 3.

[50] Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 194-200.

[51] Ibid., 38.

[52] One needs to qualify the putative democratic interpretations of popular accessibility by noting that college tuition nationwide had shifted from one-third of a skilled laborer's annual wage in 1800 to two-thirds by 1860. Ibid., 50.

[53] Cf. John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 17-18. Cf. Robert Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943), 2 vols. Until the end of the century these patterns only widened, and the costs of college attendance greatly exceeded tuition fees. Still, in the 1870s Oberlin charged $30 for a year's collegiate instruction, when Yale reportedly mandated $90, Brown and Amherst $75, and Dartmouth $60. Cf. W. C. Bronson, *A History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1914), 368.

[54] Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 37-38. Burke estimated that the cutoff point in dollars was about $2600 for communities planning a "college." If communities could not command amounts above that, it was less likely that a "college" would ensue. See also James McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools* (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1969). For enrollment figures cited here, see Burke, ibid., 49. This study is the definitive, quantitative synthesis of the antebellum collegiate experience.

[55] Claude Fuess, *Amherst: The Story of a New England College* (New York: Little Brown & Co., 1935), chaps. 3 and 12, esp. 127. Hitchcock did hold a (1820) degree from Yale but in the theological department (Yale Theological Seminary was not founded until 1822). He built his reputation via instruction in natural history at Amherst for ten years before assuming its presidency. But his reputation ranged beyond Amherst village because of his scientific textbooks, used equally by academies and colleges, and his spirited defense of the ante-bellum academy. Cf. *Who Was Who in American History*, 323. See also Theodore Sizer, ed., *The Age of the Academies* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1964), which includes Hitchcock's forceful 1845 address, "The American Academic System Defended," itself a dedication of a new academy at Williston, Massachusetts. See also "Edward Hitchcock," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 5, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1932), 70.

[56] William R. Taylor, "Toward a Definition of Orthodoxy: The Patrician South and the Common Schools," *Harvard Educational Review* 36 (Fall 1966): 412-26; see also Michael Sugrue, "We Desired Our Future Rulers to be Educated Men: South Carolina College, the Defense of Slavery, and the Development of Secessionist Politics," *History of Higher Education Annual* 14 (1994): 39-72; E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979 [1st ed. 1928]). Of course, in some states, like Virginia, slave-owner dominance prevented taxation for public schooling earlier than states like Georgia.

[57] Yale College had 325 enrolled college students in the year the Report was published. In addition, there were another 149 students—"resident graduates"—studying medicine, law, and theology. The size and

differentiated units gave "Yale College" a "university" complexion during this period. Again my thanks to Roger Geiger for this insight.

[58] Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars*. It may well have been this feature that compelled the authors of the Yale Report to acknowledge the merits of "partial education" for those unable to complete a "thorough" course of collegiate study. See "Original Papers in Relation to a Course of Liberal Education," *The American Journal of Science and Arts* 15 (January 1829): 312. "The Yale Report" has become a convenient scholars' reference to this essay, written in 1828 and published in 1829.

[59] The Yale Report noted that its charter permitted admission to youth no younger than fourteen but occasionally dispensed with the rule. "Original Papers...," 317.

[60] Notable efforts to explain how an older evangelical rhetoric translated into specific actions are Wilson Smith, *Professors and Public Ethics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press 1956); Richard J. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); and more recently, Paul Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

For an insightful commentary on important theoretical aspects of institutionalization, see W. W. Powell and Paul DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[61] Steven Novak, *The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revolt, 1798-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

[62] "Original Papers in Relation to a Course of Liberal Education," 308-9.

[63] Quoted in Melvin I. Urofsky, "Reforms and Response: The Yale Report of 1828," *History of Education Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1965): 57.

[64] Yale graduate, Rev. Lyman Beecher, illustrates the point with his *A Plea for Colleges* (Cincinnati, Ohio: 1836). Beecher's career as a widely-admired missionary model for this antebellum generation receives an insightful treatment in Donald M. Scott, *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 69-75.

[65] Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

[66] Kelley, ibid., Chaps. 10 and 11.

[67] Urofsky, "The Yale Report of 1828," *History of Education Quarterly* 5 (March 1965): 53-69, p. 62. Urofsky, misquoting George P. Schmidt, claimed that either Yale (36) or Princeton (22) graduates led four-fifths of the colleges in operation in 1840. These schools did impress Schmidt with the number of their graduates in college presidencies, but his study offered no four-fifths specification. Schmidt used an undiscussed sample of 75 colleges, leading Urofsky to his erroneous calculation of four-fifths or 58 graduates of Princeton and Yale. However, the 75 did not represent the total of antebellum colleges. See George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 96, 146. My thanks to Roger Geiger for initiating this correction.

Even where the Yale Report was not explicitly endorsed nor operated as a part of the loose voluntary network out of Yale, the classics were defended for their special pedagogical role. Wilbur Fisk, a graduate of Baptist Brown and first president of Methodist Wesleyan University, as well as his Southern counterpart, Stephen Olin, a graduate of Congregational Middlebury and first president of Methodist Randolph-Macon, both echoed sentiments of the Yale Report and endorsed the classics in the inaugural speeches at their respective colleges. Cf. Scanlon, *Randolph-Macon College*, 55-57.

[68] Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 405-09.

[69] Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), chap. 2.

[70] Rudolph, *The American College and University*, 131-35. More persuasive are the insightful arguments of Peter Hall in "Institutionalization and Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *History of Education Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 461-63; or of Louise Stevenson, *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends: The New Haven Scholars and the Transformation of Higher Learning in America, 1830-1890* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), which argues the creative force of nineteenth century evangelical culture.

[71] Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American History of Higher Education."

TRUSTEE DEMOGRAPHY AND SHIFTS IN INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY: WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, 1831-1993

DAVID B. POTTS

This study of the 542 trustees who served on the board of Wesleyan University from 1831 to 1993 reports on long-term trends in the board's membership with regard to denominational affiliation, alumni relationship, occupation, residence, listing in Who's Who in America, Phi Beta Kappa membership, and average age. Data on each of these characteristics are complete for every trustee and all years. The trends identified are used to help explain changes in institutional identity that were affirmed or completed in 1870, 1907, and 1962.

Historical study of trusteeship among our nation's cultural institutions is in the earliest stages of development. Phyllis Dain's prosopographical analysis of 110 trustees of the New York Public Library, 1895-1970, is the pioneering study in use of a multidimensional database approach.[1] My work on Wesleyan's 542 trustees, 1831-1993, probably is the only such demographic analysis for a college or university.[2] Reports on data for groups of institutions have long been limited to Earl McGrath's study of trustee occupations at fifteen private and five state institutions of higher education, 1860-1930, and Clyde Barrow's light sampling of thirty-three institutions for the same characteristic and period.[3]

We have monographic snapshots of boards in transition during brief spans in the history of a few institutions. Ronald Story presents data on 111 Harvard Overseers elected from 1828 to 1870 to show how an emerging urban upper class assumed control of the university. Marilyn Tobias traces changes in age, occupation, and residence from 1851 to 1881 for the ten elected trustees of Dartmouth, as the college moved beyond primarily local support to form strong metropolitan ties and shape a corresponding sense of collegiate community to serve the upper middle class. Bruce Leslie notes similar demographic trends and widely varying degrees of trustee intrusiveness in academic matters from 1865 to 1917 at Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, Princeton, and Swarthmore. My book on Wesleyan prior to World War I cites changes in trustee characteristics to help explain shifts in institutional identity and finds trustee

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roles so important that key values and actions of a highly influential member of the board serve as a framework for organizing the concluding chapter.[4]

Once these studies are cited, however, it still seems that trustee demography is barely emerging as a useful body of scholarship comparable to the in-depth study of students by David Allmendinger, Brad Burke, and others or to the scrutiny of faculty emerging as professionals by such scholars as Burton Bledstein, Thomas Haskell, Samuel Haber, and Bruce Kimball.[5] Presidents, of course, have always attracted much of the historical spotlight. Why are trustees, we might ask, not yet sufficiently researched to become important players among the agents of change and continuity in higher education?

One answer is the daunting hardships of demographic data gathering and the accompanying uncertainties concerning important analytical results. Will the hard-earned data show major forces for initiating, resisting, or reflecting change? Or might there be no illuminating trends, mixes, or patterns? Is all the grub work worth the investment? With regard to Wesleyan's board, I think the extensive effort yielded sufficient rewards.

* * *

My study of Wesleyan's 542 trustees, 1831-1993, illustrates the range of sources that must be explored for such enterprises. Biographical entries for 267 board members are found in the *Dictionary of American Biography (DAB)*[6] (26), *National Cyclopedia of American Biography (NCAB)*[7] (73 more), and *Who's Who in America* or *Who Was Who in America*[8] (168). Of the remaining 275, there are 177 in the ranks of Wesleyan alumni. For these alumni most biographical data are readily available in university records, particularly one or more of the alumni registers published in 1883, 1911, and decennially thereafter through 1981.

For the 98 trustees lacking such readily available information, the research required persistence and ingenuity. Sources tapped included: Methodist conference minutes; denominational and secular newspapers; census reports; records of churches, cemeteries, and funeral directors; memories of family members; and archives of municipal, county, state, and federal agencies. Local librarians and historians provided invaluable assistance, as did staff at the Archives and History Center of the United Methodist Church. Such sources were also used where *DAB*, *NCAB*, *WWA*, or alumni publications were incomplete or incorrect. Especially difficult to determine in many cases was whether an individual had affiliation with the Methodist denomination.

Allowing for a few educated guesses on church affiliation, complete data were eventually developed for all but a few trustees. Birthplace for one trustee from Germany and another from Ireland could not be determined, nor could the day and month of birth for two others. A middle initial but not a full middle name is all that could be found for seven.

William J. Hutchinson required the longest and most interesting quest for complete information. He first appears in Wesleyan records when elected to the board in 1879; for the next three years he can be found on the list of trustees published in the catalogue. Financial exhibits note his large donations in 1880 and 1881. A telegram he sent from New York City in 1880, congratulating President Cyrus Foss upon his election as bishop, is the only other archival remnant of Hutchinson's trusteeship.

Prompted by this telegram's point of origin, the hunt for Hutchinson began in New York City. A search of annual indexes to the *New York Tribune* yielded no obituary. But he appeared most unexpectedly in the 1882 index for being expelled from the New York Stock Exchange. Stories in New York City newspapers told of Hutchinson defrauding a Boston client of more than a million dollars through several transactions conducted during 1880 and 1881. Records in archives of the Exchange supplied a fuller account of this episode and an interesting trustee connection. The Exchange's investigating committee for this case included another member of Wesleyan's board, Joseph S. Stout.

Additional information appeared in the *Christian Advocate*, Methodism's leading newspaper, published in New York City. Hutchinson led a group of donors, including Stout and three other Wesleyan trustees (all elected in 1879), in funding the new Madison Avenue Methodist Church, completed in 1883 at the corner of 60th Street.

Newspaper accounts and Trow's city directory placed Hutchinson in New York City as early as 1863, working on Wall Street as a clerk. He soon became a banker and then a broker, living at various city addresses until the fall of 1884, when he and his family fled to Paris to escape a creditor and perhaps others seeking legal action against him. He returned briefly in the late 1880s to defend himself in court and to sell his seat on the Exchange. By 1891 he was gone from the pages of publications and records in New York City, probably living the remainder of his life abroad.

The search for information on his origins found no help in nineteenth-century manuscript census records for the city. Large ledger books of R. G. Dun & Co. in the Baker Library at Harvard Business School, however, produced new information. A half-dozen entries recorded Hutchinson's success in establishing, with his partner, George H. Kennedy, a reputation on Wall Street in the late 1870s for being "reliable, safe, and conservative." After Hutchinson's expulsion in 1882, this credit-rating service merely recorded various judgments against him in subsequent years.

Still lacking information on his place and date of birth, the hunt shifted to Washington, D.C. A search of passport records at the National Archives yielded the long-sought data on biographical beginnings. On the form he completed just before his rather hasty departure in 1884, our most elusive trustee brought himself to life for the relentless researcher. He reported his birth as 19 November 1841 in Albany County, New York.

Finding the final piece in this biographical puzzle required an international search. In 1885 the *New York Times* reported a rumor that Hutchinson "had been placed in an insane asylum in Paris." Inquiries in Paris yielded no definite leads. A lucky find at the National Archives, however, came just weeks before my trustee register went to press. An old card index to consular reports on deaths of American citizens living abroad led us to the document for William J. Hutchinson, who died in London on 3 November 1908. Sufficient confirmation that this was Wesleyan's William J. resided in a microfilm copy of the *Times* (London), located only ten yards from my research office in Wesleyan's Olin Library. The search that ranged widely along the East Coast and crossed the Atlantic came full circle. Except for minor details, we had complete data on all 542 trustees.

* * *

Fortunately, few Hutchinsons lurked among the 542, a number that reflects more than the venerability of this college. The size of Wesleyan's board of trustees was unusually large for most of the years from 1831 to 1993. The charter of 26 May 1831 named twenty-one founding trustees and authorized a maximum of thirty-nine. By 1860 actual board membership reached thirty-five.

Revision of the charter in 1870 provided for alumni to elect five trustees and increased the maximum board size to forty. During hard times in 1879, another charter revision authorized an increase to fifty-five, including five more elected by alumni. Looking for deep pockets, the board immediately elected to five-year terms ten of the wealthiest Methodists within reach, including Hutchinson and five others from New York City. The actual size remained at or near fifty-five for the next eighty years.

After amending the charter in 1907 to drop all formal ties with the Methodist denomination, the board began in the 1950s to address the issue of its own size. Wesleyan's board was more than three times larger than those at Amherst and Williams. Charter revision in 1959 cut the membership limit from fifty-five to twenty-six, including six elected by the alumni for three-year terms, nineteen serving for renewable six-year terms, and the president. An amendment in 1969 authorized three additional members, to be elected by the alumni. Another increase in 1991 brought the maximum to thirty-three.

A second determinant of database size and complexity is the number of characteristics recorded for each trustee. The number of data entries per individual record in my trustee register ranges from as few as thirteen (in almost sixty cases) to a maximum of twenty-three.[9] Trustees with the most lines of data have more than one term of service, board officership, Methodist church affiliation, and membership in a fraternity and/or Phi Beta Kappa.

* * *

Seven lines in the record for each person hold data particularly useful for analysis of three shifts in institutional identity during Wesleyan's first century and a half. Trustee action in 1870, 1907, and 1962 played a key role in these shifts. Changes in the composition of the board help explain all three actions and the attendant transformations.

Revision of the Wesleyan charter in 1870 altered an original nonsectarian act of incorporation designed to serve a local college initially supported more by the city of Middletown than by Methodist conferences. The crucial change in 1870 was a new provision that "at all times the majority of the trustees, the president, and a majority of the faculty shall be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The amended charter also stipulated that each of the thirteen patron Methodist conferences was entitled to appoint at least one trustee.[10] The steadily growing percentage of Methodists on the board spurted to ninety-five percent the following year and sustained a ninety percent or greater level for more than two decades (graph 1). No longer a local enterprise, Wesleyan had entered its most denominational years.

In 1907, with Methodist trustee percentages dwindling and alumni membership growing from 27.6% in 1870 to 65.4% in 1906 (graph 2), the board again revised the charter. Alumni trustees were now more likely to be Episcopalians[11] and businessmen or lawyers residing and/or working in New York City (graphs 3 and 4). The newly revised charter removed the Methodist membership stipulation of 1870 regarding the president and a majority of trustees and faculty. This document also restricted the Methodist-conference-elected trustees to no more than one-fourth of the board and added a statement forbidding any denominational test in selection of trustees, officers, teachers, or students. These changes were part of a general move to gain recognition as a New England liberal arts college. A clear sign of success with this strategy came in 1910, when Wesleyan was admitted to the Carnegie Foundation's list of accepted institutions.[12]

Probably the most interesting intersection of trustee demography and collegiate change occurred in 1962. The board endorsed a faculty vote to create doctoral programs and become in fact, as well as in name, a university. Why would a board that had helped guide this institution to the just-achieved pinnacle of reputation as a national liberal arts college decide to invest in expensive graduate programs predominantly in the natural sciences? The answer has many parts, including surplus revenue from ownership of American Education Press publishers of *My Weekly Reader* during the peak baby-boom years. But six demographic characteristics of the board offer much help in explaining this bold allocation of resources, a decision that by 1970 would contribute to Wesleyan's plunge into more than a decade of serious financial stress.[13]

Recently reduced in size by more than half through charter revision, the board in 1962 continued to have businessmen as the largest group by occupation (54.2%). The all-time high of 60% had been reached just two years earlier. Businessmen and lawyers constituted almost 71% of the board (graph 3). Within this combined group, probably foremost in energy and influence was the director of McKinsey & Company. He had recently initiated a major move by this large consulting firm into the European market[14] and was about to become chair of Wesleyan's board. Educators, who constituted 20.8% of the board, served (except for Wesleyan's president) at major research universities, where expansion and exuberance characterized the "golden age of academe."[15] A majority of board members resided in metropolitan New York or Boston (graph 4). A twentieth-century high of 62.5% had been reached one year earlier, and this metropolitan majority would prevail until 1969. Almost 92% of the trustees in 1962 were Wesleyan alumni, and an equal portion was listed in *Who's Who in America*, close to an all-time high in both categories (graphs 2 and 5). For the 58.6% elected to Phi Beta Kappa (graph 6), high achievement as undergraduates suggests a receptivity to faculty and intellectual values. Most important, perhaps, was their average age, which had dropped dramatically in ten years from 64.2 to 53.9 (graph 7). This younger board from urban centers of brisk commercial and political change in the early 1960s could relate well to the middle generation of faculty leaders advocating a new era for Wesleyan.

Trustee and faculty leaders (including two social scientists appointed a year earlier as administrators) were the key players in Wesleyan's move toward university status. The president, after two decades of strong leadership in building a top-rated liberal arts college, probably was less than enthusiastic about a move toward "advanced learning." Two years later he would warn Boston College about the dangers of a vigorous move toward graduate programs.[16] The faculty's majority vote for instituting graduate programs probably derived in significant part from the skillfully engineered, simultaneous, and seemingly quid pro quo approval of permanent status for an experiment in undergraduate education known as the College Plan. Students, just approaching the threshold of their consumer era, played little-if-any role in discussions of graduate education. Alumni support did not need to be cultivated in advance because of the anticipation that most of the financial resources needed for these new undergraduate and graduate ventures would come from burgeoning investment revenues and foundation grants. These were heady times for higher education. Wesleyan's board had all the characteristics needed to share faculty enthusiasm for graduate education and to commit the funds needed for forging a new institutional identity.

Although I do not intend to argue that demography is destiny, Wesleyan in 1870, 1907, and 1962 provides good examples of how digging for and constructing a trustee database increases explanatory leverage in an institutional history. The Wesleyan experience gives reason to anticipate that additional case studies and more broadly conceived work on trustees will help us tell the larger story of how our colleges and universities developed into major institutions in American society.

NOTES

[1] Phyllis Dain, "Public Library Governance and a Changing New York City," *Libraries and Culture* 26 (Spring 1991): 219-250. Dain's trustee research, like mine, originated within work on a larger project. Her *The New York Public Library: A History of Its Founding and Early Years* was published in 1972. A second volume is in progress.

[2] David B. Potts, *Trustees of Wesleyan University, 1831-1993: Biographic Register and Demographic Reports* (Middletown: Wesleyan University, 1994).

[3] Earl J. McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education in America," *Educational Record* 17 (April 1936): 264; Clyde W. Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 32-38, 47. Two questionnaire-based studies have collected biographical information for a specific academic year: Hubert P. Beck, *Men Who Control Our Universities: The Economic and Social Composition of Governing Boards of Thirty Leading American Universities* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1947); Rodney T. Hartnett, *College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles, and Educational Attitudes* (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1969). Beck surveyed trustees at 14 state and 16 private universities for 1934-35. Hartnett surveyed trustees of 536 colleges and universities for 1967-68.

[4] Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1980); Marilyn Tobias, *Old Dartmouth on Trial: The Transformation of the Academic Community in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). A few institutions have important data on their board members compiled in carefully constructed lists or biographical directories. Charles Coleman Sellers provides a roster of almost six hundred trustees of Dickinson College, 1783-1971, with years of birth and death, class (if alumnus/a), dates of trusteeship, and occupation. Robert W. Topping supplies biographical sketches and photographs for the 139 trustees of Purdue University, 1865-1990.

[5] David Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976); Thomas Haskill, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Bruce A. Kimball, "The True Professional Ideal" in *America* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992). See also, Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds., *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1979).

[6] *Dictionary of American Biography*, 19 volumes, including supplements and a comprehensive index.

[7] *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 77 volumes, including a comprehensive index.

[8] *Who's Who in America* (1899-1993); *Who Was Who in America*, 12 volumes, including a comprehensive index (1943-93). The citation *WWA* will be used to cover both of these closely related sources.

[9] For a sample page, see Appendix 1.

[10] Potts, *Wesleyan*, 81.

[11] Potts, *Wesleyan*, 171-72.

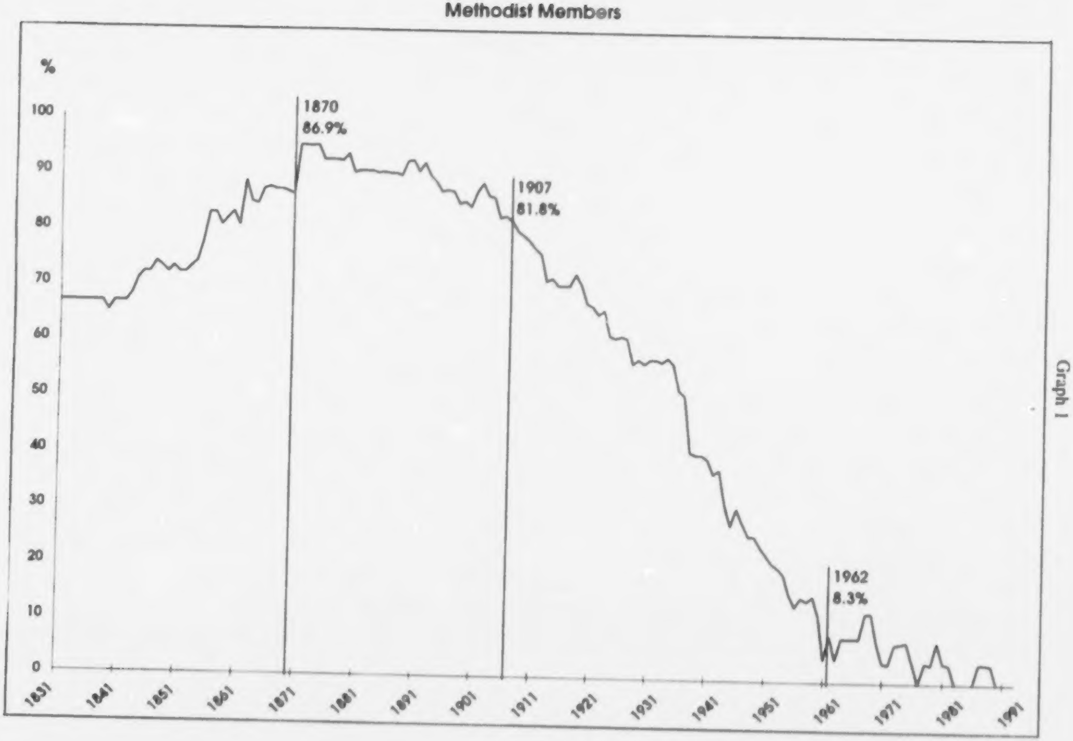
[12] Potts, *Wesleyan*, 228-31.

[13] The interpretation that follows is based on research for my second volume on Wesleyan, covering the years 1911-1967. The fuller analysis planned for that book may refine and revise the initial findings reported here.

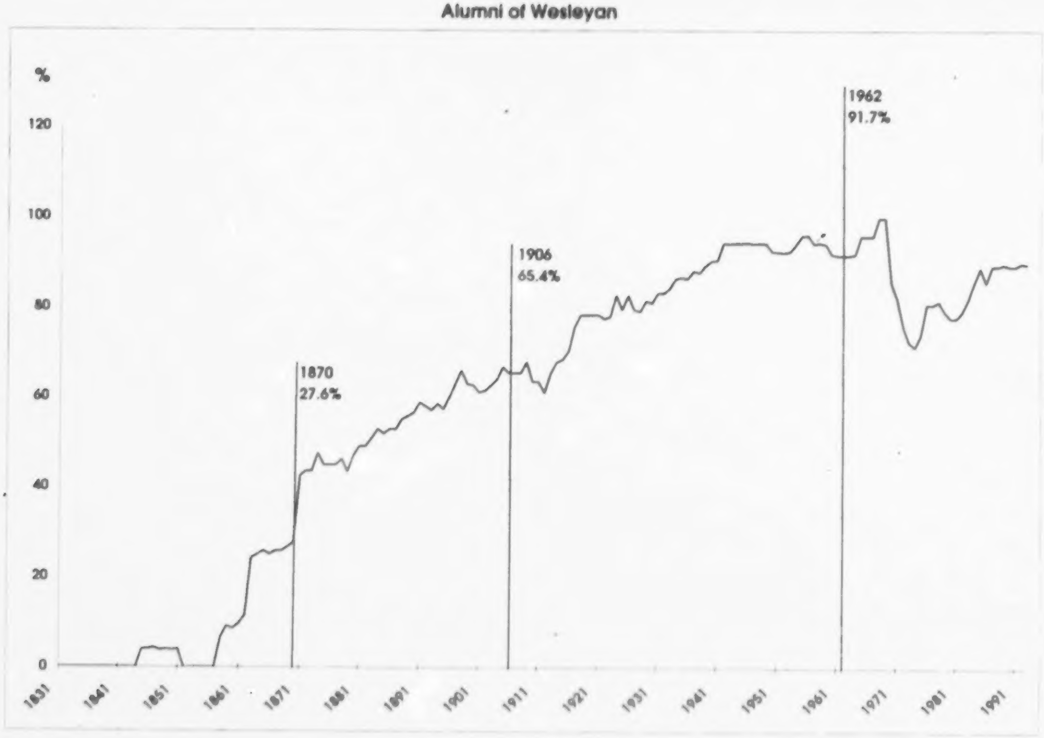
[14] Marvin Bower, *Perspective on McKinsey* (New York: McKinsey & Co., 1979), 83, 88-90, 98-99, 103.

[15] Richard Freeland, *Academia's Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

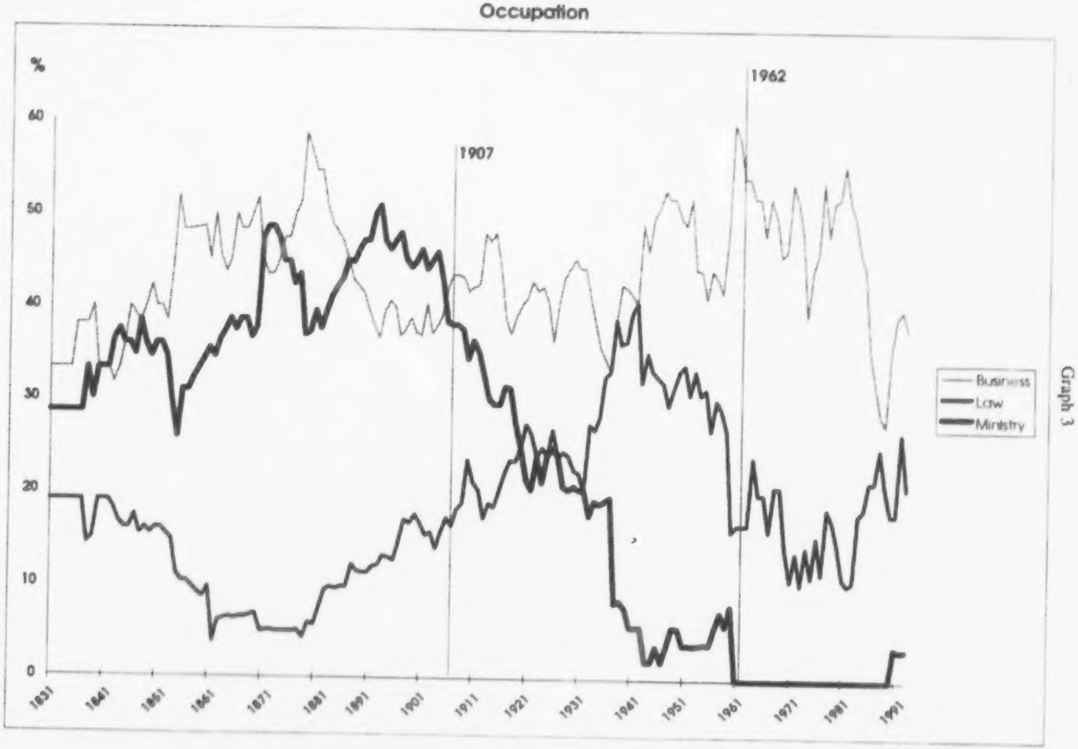
[16] Charles F. Donovan, *History of Boston College: From the Beginnings to 1990* (Chestnut Hill: University Press of Boston College, 1990), 299-300.


Methodist Members
%
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1870
86.9%
1907
81.8%
1962
8.3%
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
1971
1981
1991

Graph 1

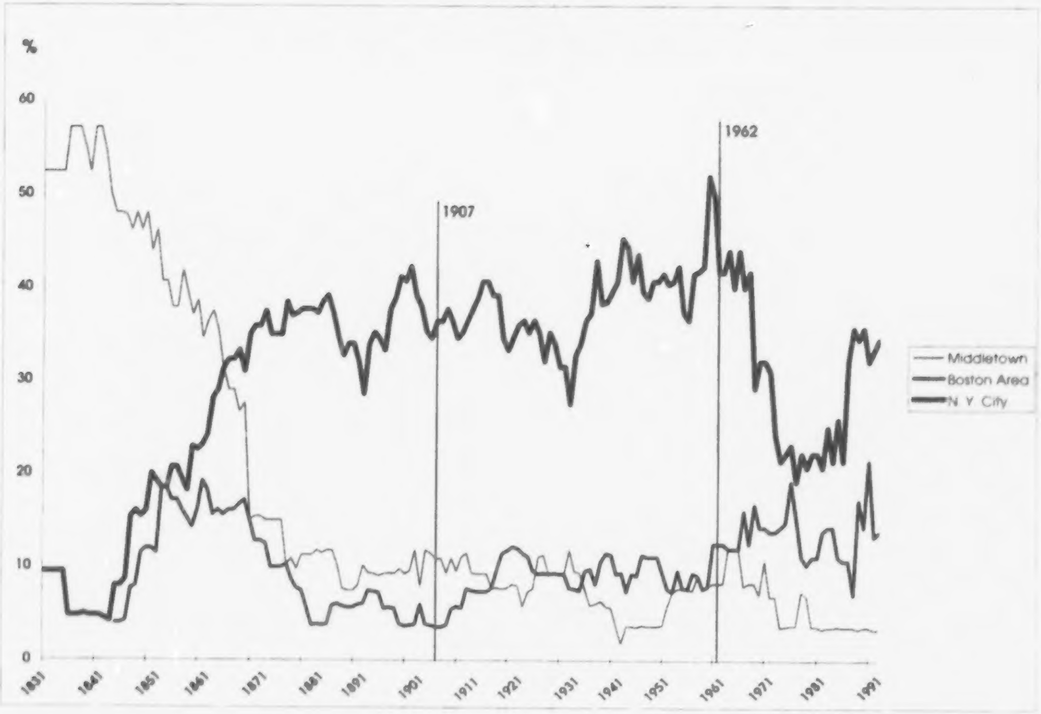

Alumni of Wesleyan
%
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
1971
1981
1991
1870
27.6%
1906
65.4%
1962
91.7%

Graph 2


Occupation
%
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1907
1962
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
1971
1981
1991
Business
Law
Ministry

Graph 3

Residence



Graph 4

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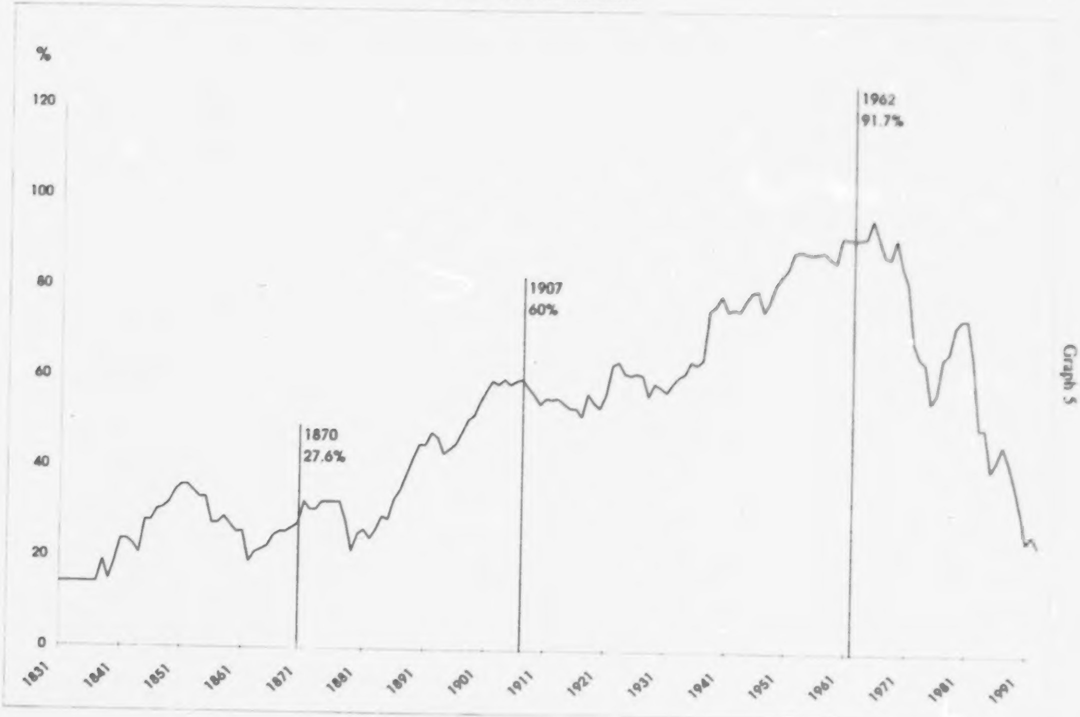
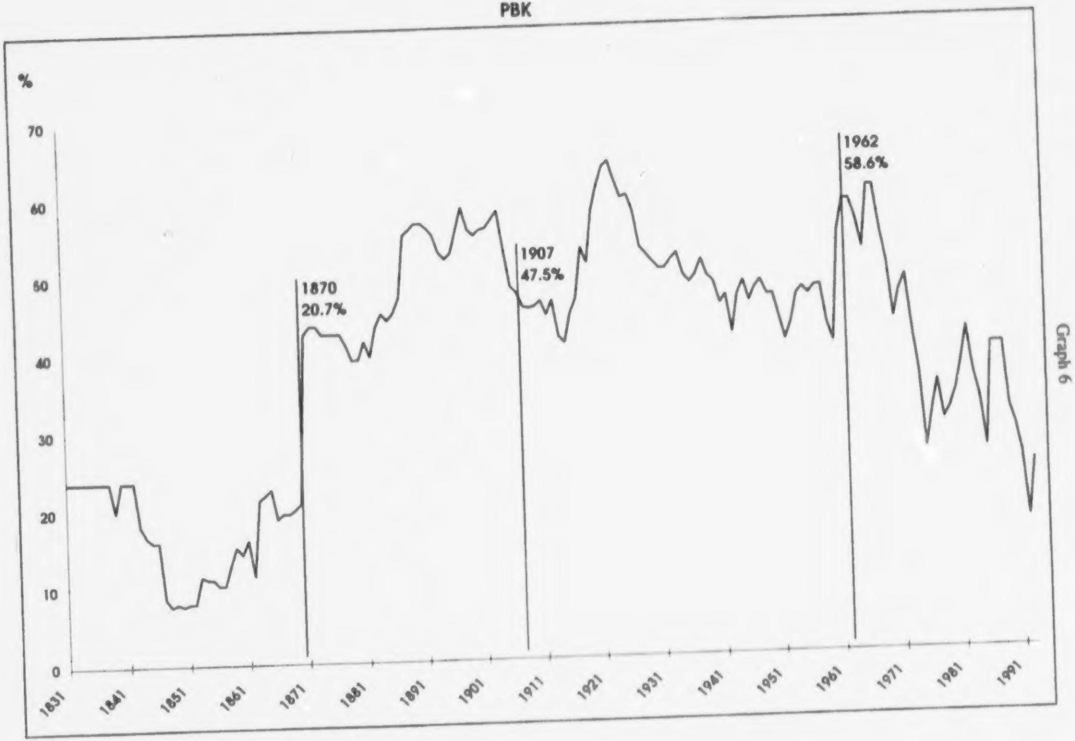
Who's Who In America

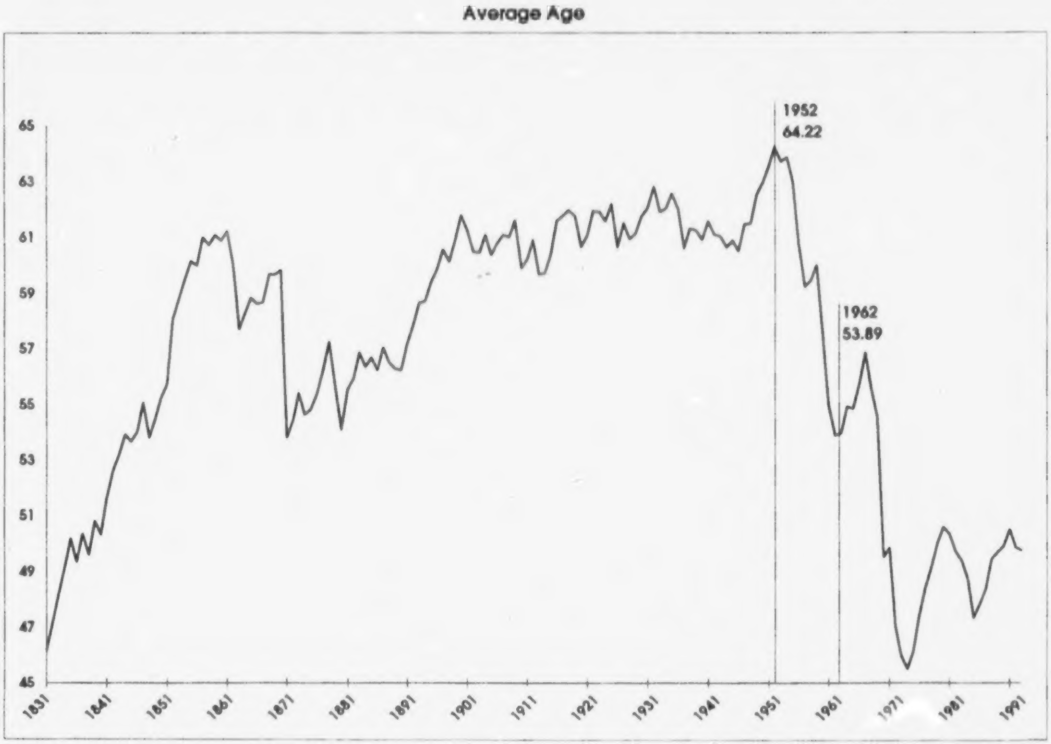


Graph 5



Graph 6

1997 109


Average Age
1952
64.22
1962
53.89
65
63
61
59
57
55
53
51
49
47
45
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
1971
1981
1991

Graph 7

INGLIS, Ernest Alexander
Service (1): 1932-1942
Annual Meetings (1): 1933-1942
Elected by (1): Alumni
Service (2): 1943-1958
Annual Meetings (2): 1944-1958
Elected by (2): Board
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 46.2
Years of Service: 25
Residence: Middletown
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1908
Wesleyan Graduate: Yes
Birthdate: 94/16/1887
Birthplace: Middletown, Conn.
Deathdate: 12/09/1972
Deathplace: Middletown, Conn.
Phi Beta Kappa: Yes
Fraternity: CC
Source: WWA

INGRAHAM, George Seney
Service (1): 1940-1944
Annual Meetings (1): 1941-1944
Elected by (1): Board
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 78.6
Years of Service: 4
Residence: NYC Area
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1885
Wesleyan Graduate: Yes
Birthdate: 11/17/1862
Birthplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Deathdate: 07/17/1994
Deathplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Fraternity: PNT
Methodist: Yes

INGRAHAM, Henry Andrews
Service (1): 1925-1952
Annual Meetings (1): 1926-1951
Elected by (1): Board
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 48.2
Years of Service: 27
Board Officer: President, 1943-1946
Residence: NYC Area
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1900
Wesleyan Gradute: Yes
Birthdate: 04/09/1878
Birthplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Deathdate: 09/18/1962
Deathplace: Huntington, N.Y.
Phi Beta Kappa: Yes
Fraternity: PNT
Source: WWA

INGRAHAM, Henry Cruise Murphy
Service (1): 1897-1911
Annual Meetings (1): 1897-1910
Elected by (1): Board
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 59.2
Years of Service: 14
Board Officer: President 1903-1911
Residence: NYC Area
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1861
Wesleyan Graduate: Yes
Birthdate: 05/02/1838
Birthplace: Amenia, N.Y.
Deathdate: 02/15/1911
Deathplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Phi Beta Kappa: Yes
Fraternity: PNT
Methodist: Yes
Source: WWA

INGRAHAM, Henry Gardner
Service (1): 1952-1953
Annual Meetings (1): 1953-1953
Elected by (1): Board
Service (2): 1954-1959
Annual Meetings (2): 1955-1959
Elected by (2): Board
Service (3): 1963-1969
Annual Meetings (3): 1964-1969
Elected by (3): Board
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 41.1
Years of Service: 12
Board Officer: Secretary 1955-1959
Residence: NYC Area
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1933
Birthdate: 04/22/1912
Birthplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Deathdate: 10/06/1992
Deathplace: Northport, N.Y.
Phi Beta Kappa: Yes
Fraternity: PNT
Source: WWA

INGRAHAM, William Murphy
Service (1): 1883-1903
Annual Meetings (1): 1883-1902
Elected by (1): Alumni
Age at 1st Annual Meeting: 56.4
Years of Service: 20
Residence: NYC Area
Occupation: Law
Wesleyan Class Year: 1846
Wesleyan Graduate: Yes
Birthdate: 02/02/1827
Birthplace: Amenia, N.Y.
Deathdate: 06/07/1908
Deathplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Phi Beta Kappa: Yes
Fraternity: PNT
Methodist: Yes

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REVIEW ESSAY

HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY MEETS THE CREDENTIALING SOCIETY

JOHN F. P. HALSEY

and

W. BRUCE LESLIE

David K. Brown, *Degrees of Control: A Sociology of Educational Expansion and Occupational Credentials* (New York & London: Teachers College, 1995), xix, 219 pp.

American exceptionalism may be out of fashion, but it is difficult not to find higher education surprisingly different from that of the European countries from which it drew its intellectual heritage. Explaining American exceptionalism in higher education is as intriguing as explaining the absence of a strong socialist movement. In *Degrees of Control*, David Brown examines the process that caused America to pioneer broadly accessible "mass" higher education between 1880 and 1930. As a sociologist, Brown's ultimate goal is to fine-tune sociological models of educational credentialing and upper-level labor market recruitment, models that ought to be applicable across national boundaries. However, the historical analysis at the core of his book guarantees its utility across disciplinary boundaries, and indeed his history is somewhat stronger than his sociology.

* * *

According to Brown, declining enrollments in the 1880s provoked a defining crisis of collegiate confidence. In that decade, new educational competitors and a rapidly changing economy threatened to marginalize colleges. The crisis quite logically could have led to a system more similar to Europe, where selective secondary schools provided all general education, and apprenticeships, technical schools, and professional faculties (freed of commitments to liberal education) offering advanced credentials. The liberal arts colleges might well have been relegated to a minor role. Instead, the next half-century produced a unique "college-dominated educational system."

Brown's story is largely one of ad hoc institutional adaptation and unintended consequences. The eventual collegiate triumph after 1890 was built on hundreds of colleges set in agrarian and small-town America and founded on denominational spon-

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sorship and local boosterism. The lack of a Federal role, as exemplified by the absence of a national university, precluded a governmental monopoly; and competitive denominationalism averted domination by any religious group. The way was left open for institutionalized cultural competition to be expressed through higher education in a manner unknown in Europe.

As a sociologist, Brown draws on many standard historical sources and much of his narrative is well-known. Yet he adds new material of interest to historians. His emphasis on the role of land speculation, illustrated by case studies drawn from the Upper Mississippi Valley is particularly interesting. Why did so many communities divert resources from more immediate needs to found colleges between the 1820s and the mid-1880s? For Brown, only land speculation can explain such irrational behavior. Particularly in the Upper Mississippi Valley, private land companies stimulated college founding. Well before the Morrill Act used land grants as Federal policy, offers of land drew colleges and other cultural institutions to frontier towns. Surprisingly often, when local boosters and land speculators built colleges, students did come. This process, intersecting with denominationalism, dotted a rural nation with colleges.

But how did this cultural artifact of pre-industrial America translate into a society that by the 1890s had become the world's leading manufacturer? Brown invokes the Weberian assumption that institutions, like organisms, have a strong survival instinct; when collegiate growth slowed dramatically in the 1880s, they adapted. Although the colleges had been established for a different culture and economy, they adeptly converted their broad social base and geographic pervasiveness into a new role.

The combination of slowed growth and competition from new institutions provoked the crisis of the 1880s. The dramatic 123 percent enrollment increase in the 1870s slowed to 35 percent in the 1880s. The percentage of the population attending college in 1878 was not equaled again until 1889. This crisis hit when college finances were suffering from declining returns on the proceeds of earlier land grants (sometimes squandered in land speculation by colleges) and self-defeating schemes such as perpetual tuition scholarships. New rival institutions, especially high schools (potentially "people's colleges"), posed a mortal threat.

Brown describes the colleges responding with well-known reforms. The curriculum was re-designed be incorporate scientific subjects. Faculty with German Ph.D.s added a new expertise and mystique. Electives and parallel curricula pleased students and some employers. Perhaps most importantly, colleges acceded to, and eventually promoted the development of an alluring student culture that appealed to upper-middle class youth.

Conversion of the burgeoning high schools from potential rivals into feeders secured the role of the colleges. Universities and colleges astutely began accrediting high schools whose graduates would be accepted automatically as freshmen, or even sophomores in some cases. Although some high schools resisted subordination, most sought the prestigious accreditation. The NEA's Committee of Ten (1893), dominated by Charles Eliot, reinforced college preparation as high schools' primary role. Early regional accrediting bodies, and especially the North Central Association, [illegible] their role as promoting the recommendations of the Committee of Ten, in effect creating regional accreditation systems. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Rockefeller-backed General Education Board further institutionalized the high school-college sequence. As an American educational system solidified, the distinction between secondary and higher education was codified with liberal arts colleges firmly on the higher level.

For Brown, the other critical development was the colleges' new relationship to the world of professional schools and work. Law and medical schools, which grew rapidly in the 1890s, increasingly favored applicants who had attended, if not graduated from, college. Increasingly prestige for those professional schools was attached to attracting students with bachelor's degrees. But the critical change for creating a college-dominated educational system was extending college credentialing downward into the middle management of the new bureaucratic organizations. Although colleges did not teach specific vocational skills, they developed the personal and communication skills needed in organizations. Older college graduates working for the railroads and other early corporations were inclined to hire those in the next generation with similar credentials. Thus the earlier proliferation of colleges helped secure their role in a new economy.

By 1930, Brown concludes hiring in America was increasingly based on social merit. Denominational identity no longer mattered; membership in any Protestant sect was sufficient, and even behaviorally assimilated non-Protestants progressed in many occupations. Colleges made the transition by dropping denominational identities and providing merit-based bachelor degrees and the requisite social skills. In an increasingly impersonal labor market, college degrees rapidly replaced personal contacts and narrower ethno-religious identities in hiring. College credentials assumed a role unparalleled in Europe.

* * *

Among the many merits of Brown's book is that it identifies fascinating questions raised by the exceptional growth of higher education in nineteenth-century America. The rise of "credentialism," the role of business in education, the development of a social class with apparently meritocratic claims to their position—these are all important issues that no single discipline can resolve. Brown's book is a good example of the fruitful combination of historical and sociological approaches. It illustrates what E.H. Carr advocated—that history should become more sociological, and sociology more historical.

There are some quibbles, of course. Brown's sociological instincts cause him to underestimate the importance settlers attributed to re-establishing civilization as they knew it and preserving it for their children. The frontier was a brief moment thank-fully put behind them. And many cases that Brown labels "land speculation" appear to have been civic-minded philanthropy and boosterism. Brown persuasively demonstrates the importance of land grants and speculation in founding colleges, but his explanation of the motivations for these unlikely ventures is one-dimensional.

Brown's emphasis on the Midwestern colleges is a useful supplement to the common focus upon research universities and Eastern colleges. In addition to his case studies of land speculation, Chapter 5 usefully analyzes the North Central Association's accreditation activities. At least for the Midwest, the NCA appears to have been more influential than Carnegie's and Rockefeller's foundations, and the certification of high schools was more significant than the creation of the College Board. On the other hand, Brown's focus on the Midwest, where coeducation was endemic, means that single sex colleges are barely mentioned.

Brown's emphasis on an enrollment crisis in the 1880s is not fully sustained by his statistics. The decade was critical for the evolution of colleges, but a mere slowing of growth does not seem to be an adequate explanation. Because his sociological model assumes institutions change only in response to external stimuli, it neglects changes reflecting the participants' preferences. Thus self-generated changes instituted by new generations of faculties, students, and administrators may have been as important an explanation of the colleges' reforms as adaptation to external threats.

Brown's search for a statistically verified explanatory model also leads him to eliminate some variables that may be crucial to understanding the role of higher education in America. The system did, indeed, become more meritocratic. But colleges continued to promote cultural identities and serve differentiated groups. In this period Catholic, women's, and African-American colleges grew considerably, and denominationalism remained important, especially in the South. The de-centralized American system guarantees that colleges will always be partially sponsored to protect and promote particular identities; they are not viewed in purely instrumental terms by sponsors, parents, or students. By favoring quantifiable and instrumental explanations, cultural explanations fall off Brown's radar screen.

On the other hand, Brown's modeling challenges historians to think more systematically about causation. The direct connections he draws between the nature of college credentials and the hiring of managers usefully suggests an explanation for the seeming contradiction between curricula that featured non-applied courses and the triumphant march of college credentialing.

* * *

Why did academic degrees become so important? Max Weber, half-playfully, suggested that by the twentieth century education played the same role in operating social barriers as had once been played by proof of ancestry. Taking part in college athletics was the functional equivalent of the knightly way of life. Weber's "mark of education," of being a "college man" or a "college woman," did not mean that one was perfectly prepared for the labor market, but it showed that one had the right stuff.

The idea of "credentialism" covers a range of notions, and Brown's argument is a valuable addition to this literature. True, it would have been helpful if the term were used consistently. At the outset, Brown's definition of the word is quite clear:

> Peculiar historical forces have made many U.S. occupations accessible only to persons who hold college degrees. This circumstance is termed "credentialism." (p. xvii)

Later in the book, however, credentialism is used as a much vaguer term referring to the relationship between educational institutions and jobs:

> Until the 1890s, public high schools remained important credentialing institutions in their own right. Many high schools (and vocational programs within diversified schools) still credentialed candidates for manual labor and clerical positions. (p. 117)

But the central idea is clear. Those who use the term credentialism in this critical sense (and no-one apparently uses it positively or neutrally) distinguish between education as being valuable in itself (that is, having "use value"), by contrast with credentials which, like money, have only exchange value. Credentials are useless intrinsically, and desirable only if they can be traded for something actually valuable. (That is why, of course, when the supply of a particular credential increases, its exchange value drops.)

Building on Randall Collins's work, Brown suggests that a college degree came to play the role of a union card in an increasingly closed shop, but that this did not reflect the use value of the knowledge the students had gained in the course of their degree. Brown rejects the traditional functionalist view that the role of education is to provide students with the skills demanded by the developing technology. Most job skills, he says, are actually acquired in the work situation rather than in school or college courses, and in any case the standardization of the length of a degree course did not reflect a standardization of the skills required by employers.

At the heart of "critical theories" of credentialing is the rejection of functionalist theory of Human Capital. In that theory, technological innovation creates a need for rising skill levels, and higher education both expands to meet this demand and accelerates it by contributing to the development of new technology. Critical theorists of credentialism assert that there is little or no connection between completing a degree and being able to perform a job better. Students may think that their courses will teach them knowledge and skills which will enable them to do jobs which they could not otherwise do, but they are wrong.

For such theorists, the problem is to explain why this mistaken view persists, why various versions of functionalist theory are so widely accepted. At the individual level, even if few students undertake extensive cost-benefit analysis assessing the likely impact on their degree course on their income prospects, it is also true that few would apply for university unless they believed that they will be better off as a result. At the national level, if a degree has limited use value, investment in higher education is an expensive mistake.

Credentialist explanations of what is really going on vary. For some, there is a parallel with the traditional long apprenticeship in which a young worker received low pay while being inducted into the mysteries of a trade by someone who went through a similar apprenticeship. When the pattern was disrupted, for example by war, it became clear that men and women could be taught to do the work in much less time, albeit at the cost of demystification and a shorter period of accepting trainee wages. Similarly, students are victims of a widespread but false belief that a four-year college course is needed to play a variety of roles for which non-graduates would be unsuitable. This false belief, memorably labeled by Ivar Berg as "The Great Training Robbery," enables a large and profitable higher education sector to maintain its supply of customers.[1]

Other versions emphasize the way in which the false belief in the efficacy of education contributes to social reproduction. Since access to higher education is spread unequally throughout the population, and since the most desirable jobs go to graduates, educational credentials act as a barrier to a free labor market. What is more, credentials appear to be awarded on merit, and this gives an essentially socially reproductive process a meritocratic cover. For Bourdieu, there is no intrinsic virtue in what is learned—judgements about what is worth knowing simply reflect the arbitrary definitions imposed by those who control the education system. Since it is the credential rather the knowledge that is important, the students quite rationally tend to value the grade rather than the learning, their schooling (as Ivan Illich put it) instead of their education.

Some credentialists emphasize colleges' socialization role. Undergraduates learn to succeed by divining what their professors want and perform accordingly. Such amenability is prized by employers, who want staff who are prepared to work within the structures defined by others and to accept severe limits on individualism and initiative—a covert proletarianization of white-collar work.

Brown's discussion of why employers decided to employ graduates is more subtle. He makes an important contribution to credentialling theory, albeit by attacking its central tenet. Using the Weberian idea of "rationalization," Brown suggests that the growth of large bureaucracies both created a large number of managerial jobs, and at the same time generated organizational uncertainty. The abilities gained during their degree course enabled graduates to function productively in the complex organizations which came to dominate the American economy. Rather than the actual content of their courses, employers valued graduates' ability to communicate effectively, both within the organization and with fellow-graduates beyond it, to exercise supervision with authority, and to cope with technical complexities. Hiring graduates for their social, rather than their technical, know-how, the employers sought to eliminate, or at least reduce, uncertainty. It is in this sense that the control referred to in the book's title was to be found.

Employers, then, preferred graduates precisely because of the skills they gained from their colleges. The problem with this idea, interesting as it is, is that Brown offers no primary source documentation for it. That may not be his fault: even if senior members of the organizations were indeed motivated by the wish to reduce uncertainty, a rather abstract idea, it is perhaps unlikely that they would record this (or perhaps anything else) as a reason for employing graduates. But without such evidence his argument is weakened.

Business had a significant influence on higher education, of course. The vision of American education has certainly been congruent with the priorities of a rationalizing society, where standardizing educational structures across the nation would enable higher education to move in a more meritocratic direction. But business involvement in universities in the U.S., or elsewhere, has never been simply, or even mainly, a matter of capitalists seeking to influence higher education so that it moves in a direction which will produce useful knowledge or employees. Some involvement has been altruistic, some motivated by noblesse oblige, and some stems from a wish to enhance a corporate image. In any case, this is at best oblique evidence for Brown's case.

Even if we accept his explanation for the increase in the employment of college graduates, Brown does not explain the exceptional role of higher education in American society. For that he would have to argue either that the level of uncertainty was higher in the U.S., or that other countries addressed the problem differently.

One possible explanation is that there are alternative means of avoiding uncertainty available in societies with greater levels of class identity—hiring people whose class membership makes their behavior more predictable. In nineteenth-century America, elite colleges helped form the upper-middle class by adopting characteristic cultural styles. In Europe, higher education was largely confined to those from an analogous but already formed social class. The expansion of Western higher education, whether it took place in the nineteenth century or more recently, made it available to a wider social range of people, and made its role in social reproduction more complicated. But no modern system is wholly meritocratic nor wholly socially reproductive, and the scale of an education system is logically distinct from the question of how far it contributes to a meritocratic distribution of occupations. The functional need of business to identify ability wherever it is to be found does not by itself explain why the U.S. system expanded as and when it did.

Fertile as Brown's approach is, it leaves many of the central questions of American exceptionalism unanswered. Sociologists may, as some claim, be involved in developing a predictive social science, but the danger when they look back is that they predict the past. Brown's account of the growth of higher education in the U.S. in the late nineteenth century hardly explains why other countries developed different patterns at that time. Still less does it explain why there should have been a similar expansion in higher education in Britain a hundred years later.

There is an interesting parallel with Richard Hyman's proposed explanation of the differences between the role of the state in industrial relations in different countries. He argued that the state's role was linked by the economic and social philosophy dominant during the formative period of trade unions. In Britain, trade unionism developed during the high tide of laissez-faire liberalism, and a voluntaristic system developed, in which the law had little to say.[2] This non-dynamic explanation, however, does not explain the introduction of a highly-regulated system by the Thatcher governments of the early 1980s, which were led, paradoxically, by the last major nineteenth-century English liberal.

Similarly, Brown's book raises questions about the rapid expansion of higher education in Britain in the 1990s, where the factors Brown identifies—a large number of colleges, weak central control, and a high point in corporate bureaucracy—were absent. In the 1990s Britain had fewer colleges and a strong central system. And as for its corporations, the "adaptive workplace" had started to replace the bureaucracy as the paradigmatic corporate organization. Total Quality Management, and similar management innovations, emphasize teamwork and less hierarchical structures. They encourage receptivity to new ideas within a workforce which moves flexibly from employer to employer. Some of these changes may be more at the level of management rhetoric than reality, since recent research suggests that so far movement from firm to firm has grown very little.[3] But for Brown's thesis the interesting point is that the huge expansion of higher education in Britain has taken place just at the time of a move away from traditional forms of corporate bureaucracy.

Brown could, of course, argue that the new needs of business are being met by this expansion, since the influence of capital remains strong. But if the expansion of higher education in different places at different times can be explained equally well by opposite corporate needs, it raises questions both about falsifiability and plausibility.

* * *

For historians of higher education, *Degrees of Control* reflects the predictable strengths and weaknesses of inter-disciplinary work. On the negative side of the ledger, Brown fails to utilize important recent historical research; few of his citations are after 1985 and none after 1990. And his explanations of causation seem reductionist at times, lacking the subtle blending of variables that is natural to historians.

On the positive side, Brown's historical sociology challenges historians to more systematically test explanatory models. In particular, he challenges us to include labor markets within our purview and to connect them more directly to higher education. *Degrees of Control* reminds us that American colleges and universities have operated at the intersection of economic calculus (credentialing and the upper end labor market), cultural transmission, localism, state politics, the academic profession, and the youth culture, among other forces, with little national governmental direction. This distinctively American mix created widely accessible higher education. But recent decades have brought convergence between European and American participation rates despite such different systems. *Degrees of Control* may not yield a viable explanatory model for both the American distant past and the European recent past, but it takes us on a heuristically valuable journey.

NOTES

[1] Ivar E. Berg, *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery* (N.Y.: Praeger, 1970).

[2] R. Hyman, *Industrial Relations: A Marxist Introduction* (London: MacMillan, 1975).

[3] S. Burgess and H. Rees, "Jobs for Life Still Available to Many," *Financial Times* (9 December 1994).

SELECTED RECENT DISSERTATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The dissertations listed here are selected from titles supplied by UMI Dissertation Services. Copies of most titles can be ordered by calling 800-521-0600, extension 3785. The abstracts have been abridged (with apologies to the authors) to convey the general thrust of the study. Since these titles were compiled from a key-word search, some relevant titles may have been overlooked. To achieve more complete coverage, I invite readers to encourage recipients of doctorates in the history of higher education to send the *Annual* an abstract of their dissertation for possible inclusion in this section.

R.G.

Behle, James Gregory. *Scholars from the Sod: The Social Origins and Backgrounds of Students at the University of Illinois, 1868-1894.* University of Southern California, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 233.

Order No. 963665

The purpose of this investigation was to historically ascertain, document, and verify the social origins and class backgrounds of a random sample of land-grant students in the formative years of the movement's history. Findings revealed that: (1) Students who attended the University of Illinois between 1868 and 1894 came from, in descending order, agricultural, professional, and mercantile trade backgrounds. The Morrill Act of 1862 singled out the industrial class as the benefactors of the legislation. In spite of such pronouncements, the professional class was consistently present as the second largest group throughout the period of this investigation. (2) Students came from homes with property and wealth. The historical rhetoric suggests that the land-grant movement democratized American higher education. In this investigation, lower economic class backgrounds are largely absent in the data. The under classes were not present in early institutional enrollments. (3) Students came from families of Republican political persuasion and Protestant evangelical roots consistent with post-bellum Illinois. The majority of students were prepared in Illinois public school and came from moderate-size towns. Students from major urban centers did not factor in enrollments. (4) The majority of sampled students came from occupationally-defined industrial class backgrounds. Economically-defined, the lower working classes were absent from the University during the period of this investigation.

Buchanan, Linda Rose. *Not Harvard, Not Holyoke, Not Howard: A Study of the Life and Death of Three Small Colleges.* Georgia State University, Ph.D., 1997, pp: 414.

Order No. 9731171

This historical study of three small colleges which lived and died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illustrates Hofstdter's observation that the intellectual development of the Unites States occurred 'over the bones of the dead colleges.' These small, multilevel, colleges were important educational and social pinions in their respective communities. Bowdon College, white and coeducational, existed in Bowdin, Georgia from 1856 until 1936. Its story is one of the effects of the Civil War on a small town's population, becoming a part of the state system of higher education, and being abandoned by the state to fend for itself. Mary Sharp College, a college for white women, existed in Winchester, Tennessee from 1855 to 1896. Its antebellum years were thriving; enrollment soared and it claimed to be the first college for women which required the study of both Greek and Latin. After the Civil War, competition from other local colleges, an aging leadership, and the spread of public education caused its enrollments to drop until it could not survive. Simmons University was a black, coeducational institution in Louisville, Kentucky, established by the General Association of Colored Baptists in 1879. It offered a wide array of education to the black community, from the primary grades, through the collegiate level to law and medical degrees. Its death was ensured when the city of Louisville bargained with the black community to establish a black public institution, in return for a favorable bloc vote on a bond. The vote passed, and the Louisville Municipal College supplanted Simmons University. A comparative chapter focusing on the educational and occupational experience of the women in the study illustrates the varied social expectations of black and white women. The conclusion of the study discusses the meaning of local sponsorship of these colleges in social, economic, and political terms. Finally, in all three cases, when the institution died, another was in position to take its place.

Crossnoe, Marshall Eugene. *'Animarum Lucra Querentes': The School of St. Victor and the University of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* The University of Wisconsin—Madison, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 228.

Order No. 9703657

The Victorine school continued long after its twelfth-century 'golden age.' This dissertation reveals the nature and importance of the Victorine school's relationship with the university of Paris in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; it also shows how pastoral ministry remained the focus of that relationship. Both Victorine histories and histories of the university of Paris leave the impression that nothing of educational significance occurred at the abbey of St. Victor after 1200. Such was not the case. Animarum lucra querentes, the papel bull issued in 1237 which gave the Victorines permission to have a university master of theology at their abbey, reveals a good deal about the masters, students, curriculum, and order-wide structure of the

Victorine school in the 1230s.The evidence of the Victorine school from 1237-1306, when read in light of recent research on thirteenth-century education, explains the apparent delay in the implementation of Animarum lucra querentes, and thus confirms the continued centrality of cura animarum for Victorine education. Gerard of St. Victor (d.c. 1327), the first Victorine canon who was a regent master in the Parisian theology faculty, secured the Victorines' place among the religious orders that integrated with the university before 1350. Master Gerard's scholastic production indicates that pastoral ministry continued to hold a central place in the Victorine school in the early fourteenth century. From the perspective of the students, Victorine legislation regulating study (c. 1275-1339), records of donations to the abbey earmarked for use by students (1295-1326), and the library lists of works available at St. Victor for student use throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries complemented the magisterial evidence and depict a robust educational activity at the abbey.

Duemer, Lee Stewart. *The Origins of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862: A Convergence of War and the Threat of War, Agricultural Influence, Modernization, and the American University Movement.* University of Pittsburgh, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 361.
Order No. 9637854

This study examines the origins of the Morrill Act of 1862, taking the position that the act was the result of a convergence of four social forces: war and the threat of war, agricultural influence, modernization, and the American university movement. Historically, these origins are traced back to the time of the American Revolution, reflecting a complex, comprehensive on the Morrill Act. This study also includes a documentation of how the bill progressed through Congress in both its 1858 and 1862 versions, and voting patterns on the 1862 version.

Graham, Frances Denise. *The Founding of an All Black Female Seminary: Spelman, 1881-1927.* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 232.
Order No. 9712286

The seminary years of Spelman College, from April 1881 to August 1927, are covered in this dissertation. The objective was to understand the growth and development of this all black female institution developed by Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles, two white women northern missionaries. Education in a seminary themselves, Packard and Giles relied heavily on their religious education to build one of the most prestigious historically black institutions in the world. The first students of the school were ex-slave women who gained an elementary education; however, as the school grew the students received a challenging collegiate education. The first black women at the school, called the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, were Christianized and developed into moral Christian women strengthened by New England views and values. This research sought to understand the motives of the founders of Spelman College.

Holtschneider, Dennis Henry. *Institutional Aid to New England College Students: 1740-1800.* Harvard University, Ed.D., 1997, pp: 273.

Order No. 9734800

From 1740-1890, Harvard, Yale, Brown and Dartmouth offered 'poor and Necessitous' students creative ways in which to meet the expenses of a college education. Scholarships, campus jobs, forgiveness of debt, approved leaves of absence to teach school, and tuition-pricing strategies were but a few of the multiple ways in which needy students were assisted. The dissertation describes the ways in which New England's first four colleges assisted needy students in the period immediately preceding and following the Revolution—from 1740-1800. It traces the reasons such accommodations were introduced, the ways in which these charitable activity changed during the eighteenth century, and the reasons much of it disappeared before the rise of 'charity colleges' such as Williams, Bowdoin and Amherst on the cusp of the nineteenth century.

Kim, Younglae. *The Scientific and Scholarly Ideal of the Modern University at Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1887-1926.* Columbia University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 276.

Order No. 9706867

This study explores the impacts of scientific and scholarly ideal of the modern university on theological education at Union Theological Seminary, New York, during the years 1887-1926. During this period, the marks of the modern university—specialization, the elective system, professionalization, and the empirical research orientation were incorporated into theological education. The methodology of this study involves institutional and intellectual analyses of the history of theological education at Union Theological Seminary. In order to examine structural changes in the seminary, the presidencies of Thomas Hastings (1887-1897), Charles Hall (1897-1908), Francis Brown (1908-1916), and Arthur McGriffert (1916-1926) are examined. Concerning the intellectual dimensions at Union, this study investigates the work of four professors: Charles Briggs in Biblical Theology, William Brown in Systematic Theology, Arthur McGiffert in Church History, and George Coe in Practical Theology. During the years 1887-1926, the Seminary's and its theologians' efforts to bring theological discussion into the arena of secularized academia, to achieve independence from church dogmatism, to expand the scope of theological outlook in social domains, and to bind science and religion together deserve due recognition. This study suggests that the current discontents in theological education—the fragmentation of the theological curriculum and the loss of a holistic search for religious truth—originated in the uncritical adaptation to the new university ideal at the turn of the century.

Malouf, Roseanne. *Portrait of an Antebellum Student within a Classical Tradition: Francis Henshaw Dewey I (1821-1887).* Columbia University, Ph.D., 1997, pp: 288.
Order No. 9723822

Francis Henshaw Dewey I was born in 1821 in Williamstown, Massachusetts. Thirty-one descendants of Francis's grandfather graduated from Williams College. Francis would eventually follow in his father's, grandfather's, and uncle's footsteps as a lawyer and judge and as a Trustee of Williams College. The correspondence in his early years included such varied educational settings as the famous Round Hill School, founded by Joseph Cogswell and the nineteenth-century historian George Bancroft; a small private family school, where Francis would leave after only a few months; the Mount Pleasant School; and Amherst Academy. Letters and school catalogues of Francis's years at Williams College began in 1836, the same year that Mark Hopkins was elected president. An 'unself-counscious account' of educational life for this young man is described in rich detail, in both the monotony and the exhilaration of experiences. From the first encounter of the 'secret society,' to the conversion Francis reported to his parents in his last letter at Williams, the details of everyday life within this young man's world are revealed. Francis becomes the central figure for an individualized understanding of the antebellum classical tradition.

Mulvihill, Thalia M. *Community in Emma Willard's Educational Thought, 1787-1870.* Syracuse University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 215
Order No. 9625867

The life and work of Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870), founder of the Troy Female Seminary, is the subject of this study. It examines the historical antecedents of Willard's understanding of an educational community, considers specific issues regarding the relationship between the American public and their educational institutions, describes Willard's belief in education as the catalyst for community building, and reviews Willard's extensive work as a historian. The study further explores Willard's work as Connecticut's first female superintendent, the associations she developed to involve parents in educational institutions, the teacher training activities she was involved with, the professional writing she contributed to the fields of education, history, and science, and finally, the significance of Willard's relationship with her sister, Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps. The dissertation reexamines Willard's work within the context of her entire life, rather than just the first forty years where others have concentrated their study. It finds that Willard's ideas about community prominently guided her professional and personal decisions. An important subtheme of this dissertation addresses the life of a public figure in the nineteenth century by showing Willard's negotiation of the politics of her time.

Pattridge, Blake Daniel. *University and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: The University of San Carlos, Guatemala, 1821-1885.* Tulane University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 355.

Order No. 9639672

A central element in Guatemala's socioeconomic and political changes during the nineteenth century was the nation's principle institution of higher education, the University of San Carlos. After independence, like other universities throughout Latin America, San Carlos became a pawn in the battle between pro-church conservatives and anti-clerical liberals. Mariano Galyez viewed San Carlos as a bastion of conservative values and replaced it with the liberal-oriented Academy of Sciences from 1832 to 1840. With the ascendancy of Rafael Carrera, conservatives resurrected the University. Despite the rhetoric of both liberals and conservatives, however, in the thirty years following independence each failed to provide the political and financial stability that would have enabled the University to prosper. Not until Rafael Carrera solidified power in the 1850s and the government promulgated the 1855 University Reform Law did San Carlos finally encounter some semblance of fiscal security. This in turn led to a surge in enrollment, new building projects, and institutional respectability. Indeed, the changes initiated in the mid-1850s marked a new era in the University's history. San Carlos thereafter solidified and strengthened its position as a principal force in Guatemalan political and socioeconomic affairs. A new generation of liberals restructured and secularized the institution from 1875 to 1885, emphasizing professional and technical training over philosophy and the humanities.

Riley, Denise Ann. *The Masters of the Blue Room: An Investigation of the Relationship Between the Environment and the Ideology of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary, 1836-1846.* The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1997, pp: 358.

Order No. 9731700

The Masters of the Blue Room is an investigation of the relationship between environment and ideology. It focuses on The College of William and Mary, 1836-1846, to explore the relationship between the institution and its environment, the mental and physical formative environments of its faculty, and the value systems represented by their lifestyles and teaching. The period 1836-1846 covers the tenure of Thomas Roderick Dew's presidency. The Dew faculty was a microcosm of tidewater Virginia. Acutely aware of the forces unleashed by the developing industrial revolution, the rise of the fourth estate, and romanticism, at least five of these men were also intensely sensitive to the leveling tendencies within American society which threatened the economic base of their Lockian liberalism, especially the institutions of landholding and slavery. Their perception of society was passed to their students, most of whom were products of the same environment and shared the same values. The study's results may challenge some of the current thinking about southern intellectual life and the values it represented. Of special note would be the faculty's 'Quidistic' political philosophy, closely akin to the English country whig belief system, its eighteenth century reason-natural law bias rationalizing its perception of a meaningful life, its cyclical view of history and the related fear of change, and, most especially, its homogeneity in lifestyle and ideology. The Dew faculty, even those of foreign birth, held the same fundamental credo which reflected the historical landscape, supported the mores of college and community, and, in a way more European than American, regarded the past as part of the present and essential to the future.

Shabazz, Amilcar. *The Opening of the Southern Mind: The Desegregation of Higher Education in Texas, 1865-1965.* University of Houston, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 494.
Order No. 9707559
This dissertation is a detailed social history of the process of ending segregation at higher educational institutions in Texas. Black people in Texas after 1865, targeted greater access to education as one of their foremost needs and priorities. In the state constitution of 1876 the right to education was guaranteed to people of African descent provided they received their schooling separate from people of European descent. The constitution also promised black people an equal opportunity for higher education through an exclusive state-supported university of their own to be created when the legislature deemed it practical. Following the ratification of the constitution Afro-Texan leaders organized to remind the state of its commitment, but their agitation came to no avail for more than half a century. In the 1930s when the political and legal climate at the national level began to favor a renewed struggle, the state apparatus responded with various reform measures intended to keep Texans loyal to the dual higher education system. By the onset of the Second World War, however, a numerically small yet influential cadre of black Texans began to consolidate around a strategy of integrating historically white universities as the best way to disrupt the limits white supremacy placed on black people's access to higher education. Their challenge forced Texas publicly supported institutions of higher education to begin desegregating graduate programs beginning in 1949 followed by undergraduate programs in 1951.

Taylor, Michele Taillon. *Building for Democracy: Girard College, Political, Educational and Architectural Ideology.* University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D., 1997, pp: 594.
Order No. 9727298
Thomas Ustick Walter's Girard College for Orphans (1833-1848) in Philadelphia, a Green Corinthian, peristylar temple, was one of the greatest achievements of the American Greek Revival and the most controversial building project of its era. Established as a school for white male orphans by the shipping magnate Stephen Girard, its temple design and elite polytechnical curriculum reflected the grecophile taste and Whig politics of Nicholas Biddle. As president of the trustees of the College, he planned to make the institution a model for the nation. An examination of the full context of its architecture provides a case study of the function of architectural mean-

ing. It reveals the existence of two opposite ideological and aesthetic conceptions reflecting a broader political and cultural war over the merits of the Greek Revival. Whigs promoted the style for its democratic associations, formal simplicity, canon of prototypes sanctioned by tradition, and utilitarianism, all of which they thought expressed Girard College's extensive educational agenda. Democrats countered that their opponents' Greek design and academic plans were aristocratic and elitist. They promoted instead a plain and functional architecture, conveying populist goals of providing a solid but rudimentary education for large numbers of laboring class orphans. Both sides linked architectural meaning to political and educational ideology. This national debate over the college lasted the duration of its construction and reflected the cultural and political devaluing of the Greek ideal in Jacksonian America.

Tuttle, Kathryn Nemeth. *What Became of the Dean of Women? Changing Roles for Women Administrators in American Higher Education, 1940-1980.* University of Kansas, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 424.

Order No. 9637351

This study examines the elimination of the deans of women who had maintained women's leadership in the academy for over a century. During the 1940s and 1950s, many deans of women were demoted or lost their positions altogether, in the name of administrative efficiency, as new dean of students' positions were filled exclusively by men. Case studies of five institutions and their deans of women are utilized: Howard University, Northwestern University, Indiana University, UCLA, and the University of Kansas. Complex forces generated this change in administrative leadership; but few advocating the new structures understood the implications for women administrators, who once reported directly tot he president and sat on policy-making groups for the entire university. Despite a loss of authority, deans of women sustained the causes of university women in the 1950s and 1960s through a variety of efforts. This study suggests that movements toward efficiency and reorganization, in any decade, affect the lives of those in less powerful positions.

Waite, Cally Lyn. *Permission to Remain Among Us: Education for Blacks in Oberlin, Ohio, 1880-1914.* Harvard University, Ed.D., 1997, pp: 167.

Order No. 9734900

Oberlin College, founded as a part of the town, was the first coeducational college in the United States and in 1834 decided to admit students regardless of color. The College educated a sizeable number of teachers, ministers and missionaries, many of whom were black. However, Oberlin, as well as the rest of the country, faced serious changes in this post-Reconstruction period. This thesis focuses on the changes in education for blacks in the community of Oberlin, Ohio—especially the college—during the years 1880-1914. For example, in 1882, white students protested blacks eating at the same tables in the dining halls. By 1904, literary societies formally excluded black men from membership. And separate housing was established for black women by 1909. These three events symbolize more than individual prejudice; rather, they indicate the beginnings of segregation recognized and accepted by the college administration. In addition, two black churches were formed, ending years of integrated worship in Oberlin. The segregation in Oberlin was a result of the growing discrimination against blacks by formerly sympathetic northern whites during the post-Reconstruction period; the growing independence of the black community, manifested through the establishment of independent black churches; and the transformation of higher education in the United States during this periods allowed for a greater diversity in the student population and a change in curriculum. The effect of these changes significantly influenced life at Oberlin College and resulted in increased discrimination against and the gradual segregation of black students.

Worthington, Daniel Edward. *Advancing Scholarship in Wartime: The World War I Research Experience and Its Impact on American Higher Education, 1900-1925.* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ph.D., 1997, pp: 941.

Order No. 9737295

World War I was the first modern technological conflict. This national emergency generated innumerable scientific and technical problems needing solution and colleges and universities became important centers for investigation. America's wartime contributions in chemical warfare, submarine detection, and wireless communication owed much to their labors. The wartime research experience, in turn, had a profound impact on the postwar development of higher education. Despite the historical significance of wartime science for the academy, historians have largely overlooked the subject. This dissertation corrects this oversight, filling a void in World War I historiography. It analyzes how American universities, represented by a select list of representative institutions, responded to increased demands for advanced knowledge during the war and how this influenced their commitment to scientific investigation and their relationship with government, industry, and other sectors of American life. Specifically, it examines how the crisis atmosphere and material conditions of war coalesced with existing social and intellectual forces, particularly a well-articulated but undeveloped research-service ideal, to stimulate a strong devotion to research and service among American universities; how this commitment came to dominate these institutions during and after the conflict; and how this affected their role in society in and beyond the postwar years.

Zimmerman, Diane Luella. *The Ties that Bind: An Historical Study of the Relationship of the Colleges of the Christian and Missionary Alliance to the Parent Denomination, 1882-1992.* Michigan State University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 332.

Order No. 9706590

The study focuses on the factors that led colleges to move from their original Bible institute training model to a Bible college model and eventually a liberal arts model, and the impact of that move on their adherence to the vision of the denomination's founder. Founded between 1882 and 1921, the four United States colleges of The Christian and Missionary Alliance are Nyack College (New York), Toccoa Falls College (Georgia), Crown College (Minnesota), and Simpson College (California). For over forty years, from the mid-1940s to the mid-1980s, the denomination debated the appropriate model of education for training its leaders, missionaries, and ministers. The study analyzes the impact of denominational decisions on the direction and role of the colleges: setting high growth goals, hiring increasing numbers of non-denominational personnel, upgrading academic requirements, and establishing a denominational seminary. The study also analyzed the impact of such external factors as students' changing interests away from ministerial studies to liberal arts and professional studies, need for increasing financial resources as the proportion of the denominational subsidy declined, and the regulations attached to government student aid. The study concludes that while these colleges have changed in educational purposes and curriculum and have partially accommodated to the mainstream, they have done so in a consciously limited fashion, preserving their original religious commitment and faithfulness to the founder's vision, and have survived and grown. These four colleges are an illustration of a type of church-related college, the evangelical 'affirming' college, that differs substantially from nineteenth-century denominational colleges. Such colleges should be studied more thoroughly on the basis of their self-defined characteristics.

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